THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THE DEATH OF GANDHI AT THE HAND OF AN assassin has shaken a multitude of people all over the world, people who know and care little about India, people to whom most of his ideas were incomprehensible. To millions of Westerners, the Mahatma was a great man, a saint, because he really believed in nonviolence, because he was a symbol of the peace that men are looking for desperately. His life was full of paradoxes, and there were bitter ironies in its closing months. He saw the British withdrawing peacefully from India —a vindication of his revolutionary methods—only to witness the division of the nation and the outbreak of murderous strife. As he had opposed imperialism by fasting, so he now opposed intolerance and fanaticism among his own people. His last fast, at the beginning of this year, achieved some success. It reduced a little the tension between India and Pakistan. But the extremists, who sought to gain Hindu domination through violence, through total war if necessary, realized how great an obstacle Gandhi's influence was to their plans and resolved to liquidate him. His death, as Shiva Rao writes in a dispatch from New Delhi on page 148, leaves the inexperienced Indian government in a precarious position. Nehru, "India's man of destiny" and Gandhi's political legatee, remains at the helm, but in his efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement with Pakistan he may be thwarted by divisions within his own Cabinet. His government is split, too, over the way to tackle social and economic problems that are calling ever more urgently for solution. Nehru's position thus appears to be almost desperate. Yet perhaps he will still draw strength from the spirit of Gandhi. The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, and the men who sought to eliminate the Mahatma's influence may find that they have only succeeded in perpetuating it.

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THE FIRST REPORT OF THE PALESTINE Commission to the Security Council confirms all the suspicions expressed in recent issues of *The Nation*. It dramatizes the fantastic difficulties in the way of partition and, without making any overt charges, shows exactly who was responsible for them. Merely by quoting the language used by Sir Alexander Cadogan before the commission, the report exposes the baldly obstructive attitude of the British. Without any apparent sense that his government was responsible, Sir Alexander described the collapse of civil authority in Palestine and prophesied that matters would grow worse when the mandate ended. He denied the "Jewish story" that the Arabs are the attackers and the Jews the attacked, pointing out that the Arabs simply will not submit "tamely" to the United Nations plan. He told the commission that its international status would mean little or nothing to the Arabs, "to whom the killing of Jews now transcends all other considerations." These statements throw a harsh light on Britain's refusal to (1) permit the creation of a Jewish militia, (2) admit the commission to Palestine more than two weeks before the end of the mandate, (3) relinquish power "progressively" to the commission as proposed in the Assembly resolution, and (4) open a port to facilitate immigration and provide a base of operations for the commission. Since the mandatory power, while admitting the collapse of its authority, rejects the recommendations of the United Nations, its determination to wreck partition hardly needs further proof. The commission's report puts the whole problem up to the Security Council in terms that cannot long be evaded. Not only will Britain be forced to meet the charge that peace and security have been overthrown in its own territory, but the United States will have to make up its mind publicly whether it intends to stand by its solemn commitments and the recommendations of the United Nations.

*

WHAT MYSTERIOUS HAND PULLED THE RUG from under Marriner Eccles? That is the question rocking Washington and the environs of Wall Street. In an almost fulsome complementary letter, President Truman thanked Mr. Eccles for his past services and asked him to step down from the chairmanship of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System to the vice-chairmanship. He then appointed Thomas Bayard McCabe, Republican towel-and-tissue tycoon from Pennsylvania, in Mr. Eccles's place. The President was completely within his rights, for Mr. Eccles's term of office as chairman expired February 1, though his tenure as a member of the board continues to 1958. Nevertheless, this ceremonious dumping of a tried and trusted public servant at a moment when the Federal Reserve System is confronted with particularly difficult problems needs further explanation. Was the Secretary of the Treasury, who recently opposed the Eccles plan for combating credit

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Editor: Freda Kirchwey

European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
J. King Gordon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams
Aylmer Vallance, Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates

Assistant Editor Jerry Tallmer — *Copy Editor* Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Shirley May Segan
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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inflation by compelling the banks to set up special reserves, responsible? Mr. Snyder flatly denies it. Was it pressure from the bankers, who have always viewed Mr. Eccles's economic theories, which are broadly Keynsian, with great suspicion and who hated his special-reserve proposal? Senator Tobey, head of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, has sworn to get to the bottom of the affair before he votes for Mr. McCabe's confirmation, and we wish him luck. Meanwhile, we note that Wall Street seems quietly pleased at the change and that stocks rose as Mr. Eccles fell. This may have been a coincidence, but brokers and traders are certainly hoping that Mr. McCabe will be less adamant than his predecessor about relaxing the present severe margin rules.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN HAS SAID HE IS "considering" the reappointment of Ernest Gruening as Governor of Alaska. This is an opportunity for the President to atone partially for his abrupt dismissal of James M. Landis and Marriner S. Eccles. Gruening has fought against the salmon, shipping, and mining monopolies which have looted the Territory of Alaska for more than half a century. He carried to victory a campaign to outlaw race discrimination against Indians and Eskimos. He is a symbol to Alaskans of an effort to obtain for them title to the annual $55,000,000 fish pack, a treasure-trove now claimed almost wholly by absentee corporations. In opposing the Seattle shipping monopoly, Governor Gruening has run afoul of certain state of Washington politicians who are said to be urging the President to select one of their number in Gruening's place. Such a move on the part of the Administration would be enough to send many thousands of independent liberal votes into Wallace's pocket, particularly in the Northwest and in Alaska. Mr. Truman's record with respect to public-spirited career men in government is not good. It will become downright shameful if Governor Gruening is not reappointed.

✕

WEATHER IN CALIFORNIA IS ALWAYS A serious business; this year, it will probably determine the major political issue. Only 4.83 inches of rain fell in Southern California in 1947—the driest year since 1877, when the weather records began. Underground water levels have dropped fast, and pumping costs have skyrocketed. The San Joaquin Valley has suffered the longest dry spell in thirty-six years. Rain-makers have reappeared to perform their conjuring tricks, and the churches reverberate with prayers for wet weather. The city of Santa Barbara has adopted an emergency ordinance rationing the remainder of its water, and the shrinking snowfields in the Sierras threaten the supply of hydroelectric power in 1948. To make matters worse, weather authorities callously announce that 1947 was

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merely the first year of a seven-year dry cycle. With complete unanimity, California is demanding that Congress double the funds requested by President Truman for water-conservation projects. The drought has solidified public opinion in support of federally financed water and power development, and it looks as if no single issue would be of greater importance in California next Election Day.

*

SENATOR ED JOHNSON OF COLORADO, WHO announced his retirement from politics last August, has now changed his mind and decided to seek reelection. Big Ed can claim the distinction of being, as the Denver *Post* puts it, "the country's outstanding isolationist-internationalist, pacifist-militarist, pro-anti-Administration Democrat." Even among professional political weathercocks, the senior Senator from Colorado has a unique record. A pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist, he now calls for a tremendous expansion of air power. Although he attacked the Greek-aid bill as "an act of aggression," he had earlier demanded "bold action" against communism. When the bill finally passed, he came out in favor of universal military training, only to announce six months later that military training "is the method of the police state. It came to us from Germany; it is a Prussian idea." Last summer, he praised the Marshall Plan as "a prime deterrent to the causes of war"; now he insists that the plan cannot be put through "without upsetting our own economy." If Johnson is elected, as seems likely, the voters of Colorado will doubtless be as puzzled as the rest of the nation concerning what policies they have approved or disapproved by returning him to the Senate.

All or Nothing

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S "all or nothing" statement on the Marshall Plan, just short of an ultimatum, reflects the alarm felt in Administration circles over Congressional threats to the program. The immediate reaction on Capitol Hill has been to accuse Mr. Truman of intimidating earnest legislators who merely want to have a good look at the plan before committing the country. But no one who has followed the various attempts to undermine it will be taken in by this air of injured innocence. At first hesitant and probing, the attack on the Marshall Plan by some Republicans who pay lip service to its purposes has become steadily bolder, though no more direct. The particularly virulent remarks of Herbert Hoover, carrying the prestige of an "elder statesman," appear to have been the signal for a general assault, with Senator Bridges's cries of "phony" financing and Senator Taft's proposed two-billion-dollar cut coming as a natural consequence.

Where the changes proposed are merely modifications of the Administration plan, there is obviously no question of their propriety. In this category is the section on the administrative structure of the program contained in the draft bill of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Rejecting alike the President's request to have the program directly supervised by the Secretary of State and the Herter group's plan to have it run by an independent bi-partisan agency, the committee has chosen the compromise scheme worked out by the Brookings Institution. This calls for an agency responsible directly to the President but obliged to keep the State Department fully informed of all its plans, and with the Secretary of State empowered to halt any given action that he feels conflicts with foreign policy until the President can make the necessary decision. We foresee confusion in this arrangement, of the sort that has enabled Greek politicians to play off Dwight Griswold against Ambassador MacVeagh, but it does not undermine what Secretary Marshall calls "the general overall conception." We are glad that neither he nor the President has chosen to quarrel with the Senate over this side issue, because there are at least two other lines of attack that may easily prove fatal.

THE first of these is the amount to be appropriated. Pressed by Senator Vandenberg, the Administration has already agreed to forgo stipulating a total sum for the four-year period, but that is as far as compromise can go. There is nothing autocratic in Mr. Truman's insistence that to grant less than the $6.8 billions he has requested for the first year is to defeat the whole purpose of the program. The essence of the Marshall Plan is that the aid must be in such volume and of such specific nature that the program goes beyond the futility of temporary relief, and enables the receiving countries so to rehabilitate themselves that no further relief will be needed. A minimum figure must obviously exist, below which the appropriation will be inadequate to this purpose. Detailed and voluminous studies were made by bi-partisan groups appointed by the Administration, and no evidence has been brought forward by the opposition to controvert their figures or to deal with the problem at all on this level of argument. Those who now demand a reduction of two or three billions do so either, as Mr. Hoover does, on the theory that the whole program should be revised to combine immediate limited relief with a system of rehabilitation loans; or, as others do, on the ground that our domestic economy won't stand the strain. Both arguments amount to a complete rejection of the Marshall Plan, with those who advance them merely lacking the courage to say so. In this sense, the insistence on "all or nothing," far from being arrogance, is an expression of the facts.

Should both Senate and House give the President the

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required appropriations, the Marshall Plan will still have formidable hurdles to overcome. The Herter bill in the House, to cite the most important of them, differs from the Administration plan in at least one respect that would certainly prove fatal. Where the Marshall Plan would require assisted countries to set aside, in their own currencies, sums commensurate with the food, fertilizer, and fuel they receive, and to invest that money in their own industrial development, the Herter plan would turn that currency over to us. We could not convert it, of course, but would use it ourselves to invest in their industries, thus acquiring part ownership in French factories, British mines, and the like. Moral questions aside, this approach would cancel the entire program for the simple reason that no European country would accept aid on these grossly imperialistic terms.

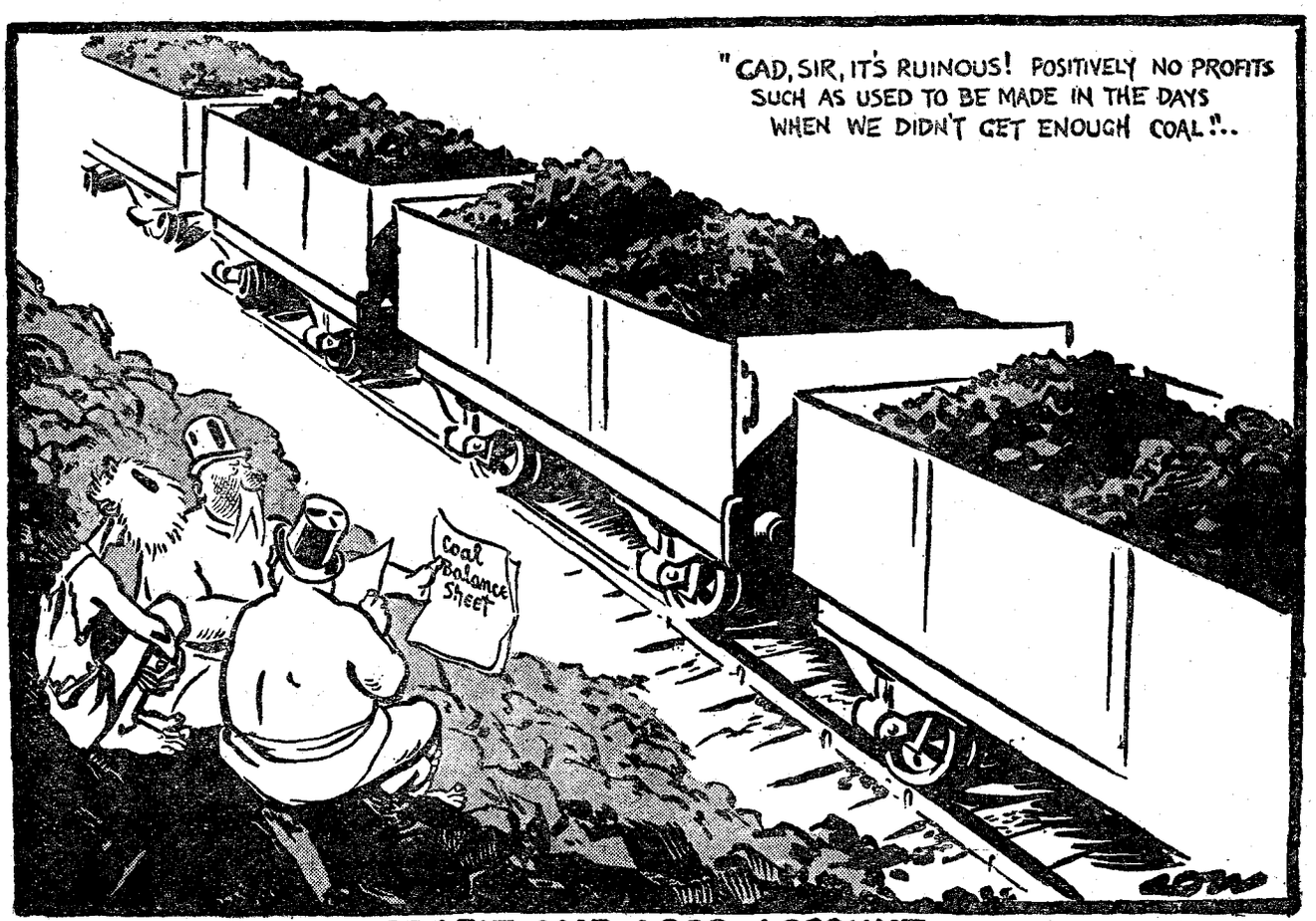
A bitter fight lies ahead, and one that will be made no easier by the cold fact that many Republicans see in the Marshall Plan the one big soft spot in the federal budget. A few billions cut here will enable them to go before the electorate with the savings they promised in 1946, to say nothing of reduced taxes. If it also means a world catastrophe, that would only come afterward and could be dealt with in the usual statesman-like way that we have come to associate with the Hoovers, the Tabers, the Knutsons, and the Tafts.

A Roman Holiday

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MEMBERS of the Newark Board of Education may have thought they had settled things when they voted unanimously last week to uphold the action of Superintendent of Schools Herron excluding *The Nation* and *Soviet Russia Today* from the high-school libraries. If so, they were mistaken. The board's decision seems to have jolted New Jersey liberals, especially teachers and ministers, into a realization that freedom to discuss controversial social and moral questions has been badly compromised. The unauthorized action of Dr. Herron was important as symptom and symbol; approved by the Board of Education, it becomes a formal invitation to similar acts of sectarian censorship in other public institutions. Further protests are under way. Professors in various colleges of the state, including Princeton and Rutgers, are addressing a strong statement to Dr. Saunders, chairman of Governor Driscoll's new Civil Rights Commission; they criticize the decision, and announce that a mass meeting will be held within the next week or two to deal with the broader pattern of repression revealed in the Newark incident.

No one attending the Board of Education hearing


"GAD, SIR, IT'S RUINOUS! POSITIVELY NO PROFITS SUCH AS USED TO BE MADE IN THE DAYS WHEN WE DIDN'T GET ENOUGH COAL!"..
Coal Balance Sheet

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

London *Express*—Canada Wide

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could overlook the sectarian basis of the whole performance. It was the Roman Catholic church arrayed against free discussion of its policies; and this fact blatantly declared itself above the protestations of love for democracy and opposition to "subversive teaching and activities." Not only is Dr. Herron himself a Roman Catholic; so are Dr. Przbylowicz, chairman of the board, and a majority of the members. Of the individuals who appeared to support the banning of *The Nation* and attack Mr. Blanshard's articles, practically all spoke for Catholic organizations: they included a past grand knight of the Knights of Columbus, the county commander of the Catholic War Veterans, representatives of the Catholic Daughters of America and à Kempis of New Jersey, a Catholic judge, and the director of a Catholic hospital.

The crowd that jammed the board room and adjoining hallways to suffocation was almost evenly divided, but the opposition to *The Nation* manifested such noisy approval of the ardent clerical sentiments of the speakers on their side that one couldn't doubt their allegiance. It was unmistakably a Roman holiday, and it carried ugly overtones of contempt for everything that savored of free criticism of the precepts or behavior of the church.

Although equal time was given to the speakers on both sides, the representatives of the banned journals had no chance to rebut the array of false statements paraded by Dr. Herron and his cohorts, whose remarks ended the testimony. Herron used language about *The Nation* that was plainly libelous—describing it as a "vile rag" and arguing that if he allowed it in the schools he would have to admit "every salacious art magazine." He denounced Mr. Blanshard's articles as false without controverting a single statement or questioning the authenticity of the author's sources. In an effort to show that his aim in banning *The Nation* was to promote harmony among religious and racial groups, he said he had also removed from the library shelves "Ivanhoe" and "The Merchant of Venice." But in spite of this spectacular sacrifice of common sense to group susceptibilities, such volumes as "Mein Kampf" remain in the libraries, a fact Dr. Herron failed to explain although it had been mentioned—not in disapproval—by a spokesman for the other side. Altogether, the pretense that this journal was ousted for any reason other than to please the Roman hierarchy wore pretty thin as Dr. Herron attacked Harold Laski and Del Vayo (the latter not by name) as foreign radicals who slandered the church, denounced *The Nation* for printing advertisements of "atheistic books," and described Paul Blanshard as "an anti-Catholic writer and lecturer," although Mr. Blanshard had earlier stated that, until he wrote the articles for which *The Nation* was banned, he had never written or spoken on any subject touching the church.

The other Catholic defenders of the Herron action were notable only for the violence, bigotry, and illiteracy of their remarks. One woman made a speech taken word for word, but without credit, from the Brooklyn *Tablet*. Another speaker praised Dr. Herron for sending all four of his children to parochial schools. The undoubted virtue and devotion of the nuns was passionately cited to refute Mr. Blanshard's attack on their intellectual qualifications as teachers.

I think it is not a sign of bias to say that the defenders of *The Nation* were more to the point and more rational in their testimony. In order to give Mr. Blanshard an opportunity to develop his argument, several persons scheduled to speak against the ban gave up their time, including James Imbrie, chairman of the New Jersey Independent Citizens League, Harold Crane of the Council of Churches, Arthur Brown of the Civil Rights Congress, and Mrs. George Moskowitz. Apart from Mr. Blanshard and myself, the liberal witnesses were Charles Allen, president of the Teachers Union, Pierson Ostrow of the Socialist Party, and the Reverend Chester E. Hodgson, who represented the Newark Ministerial Association and spoke also for the Council of Churches, the Greater Newark C. I. O. Council, the N. A. A. C. P., the Essex County Unitarian Church, and the Independent Citizens League. Mr. Hodgson read a strong resolution which had been proposed at the annual meeting of the New Jersey Council of Churches by the Rt. Rev. Theodore R. Ludlow, suffragan bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, and adopted unanimously. It opposed the banning of *The Nation* as unwise and arbitrary, "setting a dangerous precedent," and asked that "the action be rescinded by the proper authority and the good name of the City of Newark be vindicated."

UNFORTUNATELY, there is no doubt whatever that the schools of Newark, as of many other cities in the East, are controlled by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. When Dr. Herron was made superintendent in 1943, his appointment was greeted by a leading Catholic educator and priest as a first sign of successful penetration of the Newark public schools. In a talk at a communion breakfast, the cleric frankly remarked: "When I spoke to you . . . four years ago, I discussed non-sectarian education. I told how the church was against it. . . . What we started here that day is now bearing fruit . . ." Dr. Herron was the fruit.

Clerical control of the schools is not only an anachronism—since "the church" is against "non-sectarian education"—it is also a great threat to the growth of a progressive society in this country. For the Roman hierarchy is determined, through control of education as well as through its influence in politics and science and the press and the film industry, to align America with organized reaction all over the world. It is this that makes the banning of *The Nation* something more than a school official's irresponsible whim.

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Toward World War III

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 31

THE volume of documents published by the State Department on "Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-41," is a new volley in the cold war between Washington and Moscow. Its purpose is to build up fear and hatred of the U. S. S. R. The new and most damaging revelation is that in addition to the non-aggression pact of August, 1933, Germany and the Soviet Union entered into a secret protocol, before the war, to divide Poland between them. This casts grave dishonor on the U. S. S. R. and the Communist parties abroad, especially in view of the propaganda at the time that the Nazi-Soviet pact was intended to maintain peace.

The secret protocol also demonstrates, if any demonstration were needed, that Soviet foreign policy does not differ essentially from czarist policy; the differences strikingly apparent in the first years after 1917 must be attributed to a combination of revolutionary idealism and military weakness. But this does not prove, as the State Department seeks to prove, that the Soviet state is an international monster. Perhaps the scant attention paid to these documents in the British press, which is more sophisticated and less hysterical than ours, was due to its recognition that the hard-boiled politics which led Moscow into a pact with Berlin were not unlike the hard-boiled politics which had led Great Britain into an earlier pact at the expense of Czechoslovakia. Soviet foreign policy is Russian foreign policy, that is, a policy determined by geographic and strategic interests more basic than ideology, and showing the Machiavellianism inseparable from the relations of great powers.

ONLY short memories and naive minds will take these documents at their face value. Volumes of this kind are commonly published by governments when war is about to start or has already begun. The parallels to this one are the various "blue," "white," "red," and "yellow" books published by the belligerents in the first and second world wars. The documents were usually genuine, but the choice and editing were dictated by the impression sought to be conveyed by the issuing government about its enemy; this impression was a skilful blend of half-truth and false implication. In reading these documents one must keep in mind that they are German documents; except for the Nazi-Soviet pact and the protocol, they present events as seen by the Germans. Some 2,000,000 documents were seized by the Western powers in Germany. The ones published here are a selection of 260 dealing with Nazi-Soviet relations. In all fairness we might remember that we would not like to have American policy judged solely on the basis of selected reports from the correspondence of the Nazi Foreign Office with the German ambassador in Washington.

The two editors, James Raymond Sontag and James Stuart Beddie, say that they had "complete independence" and "final responsibility for the selection" of the documents to be published. What was their political frame of reference? Obviously the selections made by a leftist might differ from those of a rightist, as those of an internationalist might differ from those of an isolationist. I have no information on Beddie. The indications as to Sontag's political views are scanty but significant. He is a professor of history at the University of California and was formerly at Princeton. He has not always been in favor of inflammatory actions in international affairs. The New York *Times* of April 19, 1938, reported that in a Princeton faculty poll he opposed a boycott of Japan on the ground that it "might lead to a 1914 state of emotionalism." In 1938 Sontag published a historical study, "Germany and England." The preface is cautious. Sontag said that "in the summer of 1938 Neville Chamberlain's foreign policy proceeded on the assumption that if an amicable understanding with Germany could be achieved, the position of England was secure" and that "Adolf Hitler was no less eager for an understanding; 'Mein Kampf' made the alienation of England the cardinal error of the Second Reich and promised that the Third Reich would not repeat this ruinous blunder." The book explores the obstacles to Anglo-German understanding in the period of 1848-94 and is guarded in its references to contemporary difficulties. But Sontag does say, "The Germany of Bismarck, like the Germany of Hitler, seemed reactionary to Englishmen. And yet, in the field of ideas, is it not the Germans who have been innovators?" Sontag says that "in all that concerns the relations of the individual to the state, of the state to the world community, and, more broadly, of law to force, the world of today is closer by far to the ideals of the German nationalists of Bismarck's day than to the Gladstonian liberals."

This is cryptic, but it seems to indicate that Sontag was not without respect for *Realpolitik* when practiced by Germans. A review by Sontag of Hubert Herring's "And So to War" in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for April 16, 1938, says that Herring is "out to demonstrate the dangerous futility of collective security in quarrels which we do not understand and cannot solve. All honor to him." Another review in the same publication on

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July 1, 1939, of the final volume of Ray Stannard Baker's "Wilson's Life and Letters" develops a curious theory about the nature of Nazism. Sontag criticized the German Republic for failing to achieve "economic democracy." He went on to say, "Conversely, Nazi Germany has shown the loyalty which can be evoked by a state which holds the citizens together, not by gifts, but by the demand for service, even though the promise of economic democracy has not been fulfilled." Sontag wrote, "If we can strip away the veils of hate, we shall see that the determination to smash the barriers separating Germans from each other was possibly the strongest weapon in the hands of the Nazis before 1933." Clearly, in the case of the senior editor, Sontag, these German documents were not placed in anti-German, or strongly anti-Nazi hands.

IT IS a pity that the captured documents on this subject were not published in full under the editorship of scholars of international reputation. There is much that readers of this State Department selection will not understand. They will catch but the vaguest glimpse of the reasons which induced the U. S. S. R. to make a pact with Hitler. One document quotes the Italian ambassador as saying that Russia would surrender its freedom of negotiation "only if England and France give her a full treaty of alliance." A document of July 27 says the Soviet chargé in Berlin told a German Foreign Office official that the U. S. S. R. felt menaced by "the anti-Comintern pact and our [German] relations to Japan, and Munich and the free hand in Eastern Europe that we gained there." These seem to be the only references to the plans of the Western powers to push Hitler to the east, and their consequent unwillingness to make an alliance with the Russians.

The documents convey the impression that the first feelers toward a Nazi-Soviet agreement came from the Russian side. This may be true, but internal evidence raises some doubt. The first document is dated April 17, 1939, and reports a friendly advance made by the Russian ambassador in Berlin. But other early documents indicate that for some time past there had been a cessation of attacks on the Soviet Union in the Nazi press. Do the records of the German Foreign Office throw any light on how and why this occurred? We know that on January 30, 1939, in addressing the Reichstag, Hitler for the first time failed to denounce Russia. Was he already planning a rapprochement? Nor do the documents throw any light on why Hitler permitted a pro-Nazi Hungarian regime on March 16, 1939, to annex the Carpatho-Ukraine, wiping out the base from which only a few months earlier he was talking of seizing the Russian Ukraine.

The documents represent the U. S. S. R. as seducer, the Third Reich as seduced, the Western powers as the dupes of Soviet deceit. But London and Paris were by no means unaware of the possibility of a Nazi-Soviet understanding. The French *Livre Jaune* showed that the French ambassador in Berlin reported as early as May 9, 1939, "For some time past Berlin has believed in a possible change in Soviet policy." When all the documents are available, we may find that the Western powers were better informed than they care to admit; this may explain why the British White Paper on the Anglo-Soviet negotiations of 1939 has never been published, although promised by Chamberlain in January, 1940. Even from this new selection of documents one gathers that one obstacle to an Anglo-Soviet pact in 1939 was British friendliness for Japan. A dispatch of May 22 from the German ambassador says there was talk that "London is afraid of driving the Japanese into our arms if she guarantees the defense of all Soviet frontiers." Was it hoped in London to turn Japanese expansion against the U. S. S. R., as it had been hoped at Munich to divert Hitler's drive in the same direction?

It appears that Russia's concern about Japan was a key element in the Moscow negotiations. The strangest item in this volume of documents is the cable of August 14 from the German ambassador in Moscow which says that "a member of the American embassy here, which for the most part is very well informed, stated to one of our aides that we could at any moment upset the British-French negotiations if we abandoned our support of Japan." Why was a member of the American embassy willing to advise the Germans how to upset the British-French negotiations? Was this indiscretion or pro-Nazi sympathy? Or were there Western elements fatuous enough to want a Nazi-Soviet pact because they underestimated Soviet strength or preferred a Japanese alliance?

THE impression created is that the Russians collaborated willingly with the Nazis and were ready to join in a division of the world but were so greedy in their demands that Hitler finally decided to attack the Soviet Union. This was also the thesis of Byrnes in his "Speaking Frankly." But closely read, even these documents show that, for all the revolting hypocrisy of the Soviet leaders, for all their willingness to cash in on the Nazi alliance, it was from the beginning an uneasy and distrustful relationship. "All our observations," the German ambassador reported from Moscow on March 30, 1940, "particularly the speech of Molotov on March 29, confirm that the Soviet government is determined to cling to neutrality in the present war and to avoid as much as possible anything that might involve it in a conflict with the Western powers."

The famous conversations in Berlin between Molotov and Hitler in November, 1940, indicate that the former was unimpressed by Hitler's glamorous talk of a new

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division of the world and stubbornly insistent on matters concretely affecting Russia's security: the transit of German troops through Finland to Norway, Nazi penetration into the Balkans, and Russian interest in the Straits. There was a fundamental clash of interests in the Balkans on which these documents throw only a meager light, for here one comes to the period in which the U. S. S. R. began to shift over to the anti-German side—the pact with Yugoslavia, the protest against the Nazi occupation of Bulgaria, the friendly declaration to Turkey in March, 1941. Documents on this phase of Nazi-Soviet relations do not fit into the department's purpose.

When the full story is told, it will be seen that Stalin's motives were those of a Russian ruler seeking to protect his country in a very treacherous situation, and acting on lines determined by Russia's strategic position. It is necessary to treat these documents with circumspection, not in order to condone much that was morally reprehensible in Moscow's dealings, but to be on our guard against a propaganda campaign designed to drag us closer to a third world war.

India Without Gandhi

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, January 31

I HAVE just returned from Gandhi's funeral. At least a million people had gathered for it, including Governor General Mountbatten, members of Nehru's Cabinet, several princes, and of course the common folk, to whom Gandhi symbolized a great moral purpose.

Ten days ago he was near death, fasting in order to arrest the gospel of vindictiveness against Moslems here in Delhi and the policy of reprisals against them for the sufferings of the minorities in Pakistan. The response to his plea had been substantial but not unqualified. Many of the refugees from Pakistan evacuated the temporarily empty Moslem homes and mosques they had occupied here, but they did so resentfully. "It's blackmail," they said, referring to the Mahatma's determination to continue his fast unless Delhi's Moslems could return to their former homes and go about the city without fear. "Let him die!" declared some who had lost everything they possessed in migrating from Pakistan last fall.

It was clear that in preaching the lofty principle of returning love for hatred Gandhi had aroused fierce opposition among a certain section of the Hindus and Sikhs. I saw evidence of this when I accompanied Nehru three days ago on a tour of Amritsar—the most important center of Sikh culture and business enterprise—and the India-Pakistan border. Nehru addressed an enormous rally of probably 250,000 people at Amritsar. He told them of the need of building friendly relations with the Moslems and denounced the National Service Corps, a militant and expanding organization. Murder for murder, Nehru declared, was not a sane policy for India to follow. Raising his voice, he said: "Let those who demand the establishment of a Hindu state get out of India! So long as I am head of the government of India I shall not tolerate the ill treatment of Moslems or other minorities because of atrocities which have occurred in Pakistan." The vast audience cheered—rather surprisingly, for Amritsar contains a large number of homeless refugees from across the Pakistan border. The next moment I saw a Hindu youth who was squatting on the ground near me arrested by a plain-clothes policeman. Later I learned he had two hand grenades in his pocket.

Gandhi had had a strange premonition that death was near. Some hours before his assassination he told his staff that he intended to leave Delhi next week but felt he would not reach his destination. After the bomb incident last week the police had warned him that his life was in grave danger, but he would not allow them to search those who assembled every afternoon for his prayers.

Gandhi's assassin was, mercifully, a Hindu. Had he been a Moslem, nothing could have prevented catastrophic riots throughout the country. Some time must elapse before the people of India realize that their leader, who wielded such unique influence for thirty years, is no more—a victim, as many have observed, of a cult which he had preached against all his life. It was known that Gandhi was sad and disillusioned. He was appalled by the outbursts of mass fury of the last twelve months. All his cherished principles seemed to crumble after the achievement of India's freedom. He continued to fight violence desperately, straining the loyalty of his followers by undertaking his fasts but knowing that his country's welfare was still temporary and superficial.

EVERYONE is asking what will happen next. The mantle of leadership naturally falls on Nehru, who combines with Gandhi's magnificent idealism and broad humanity a clear vision of India's role in the post-war world. Despite many obvious differences between the two men, Nehru stands fundamentally for the same things that meant most to Gandhi—the welfare of the common man, just treatment for Moslems and other minorities, and the establishment of a democratic state. As Prime Minister, Nehru derived great strength from Gandhi's unswerving support of his policies. With Gandhi gone, Nehru's task has become infinitely more difficult.

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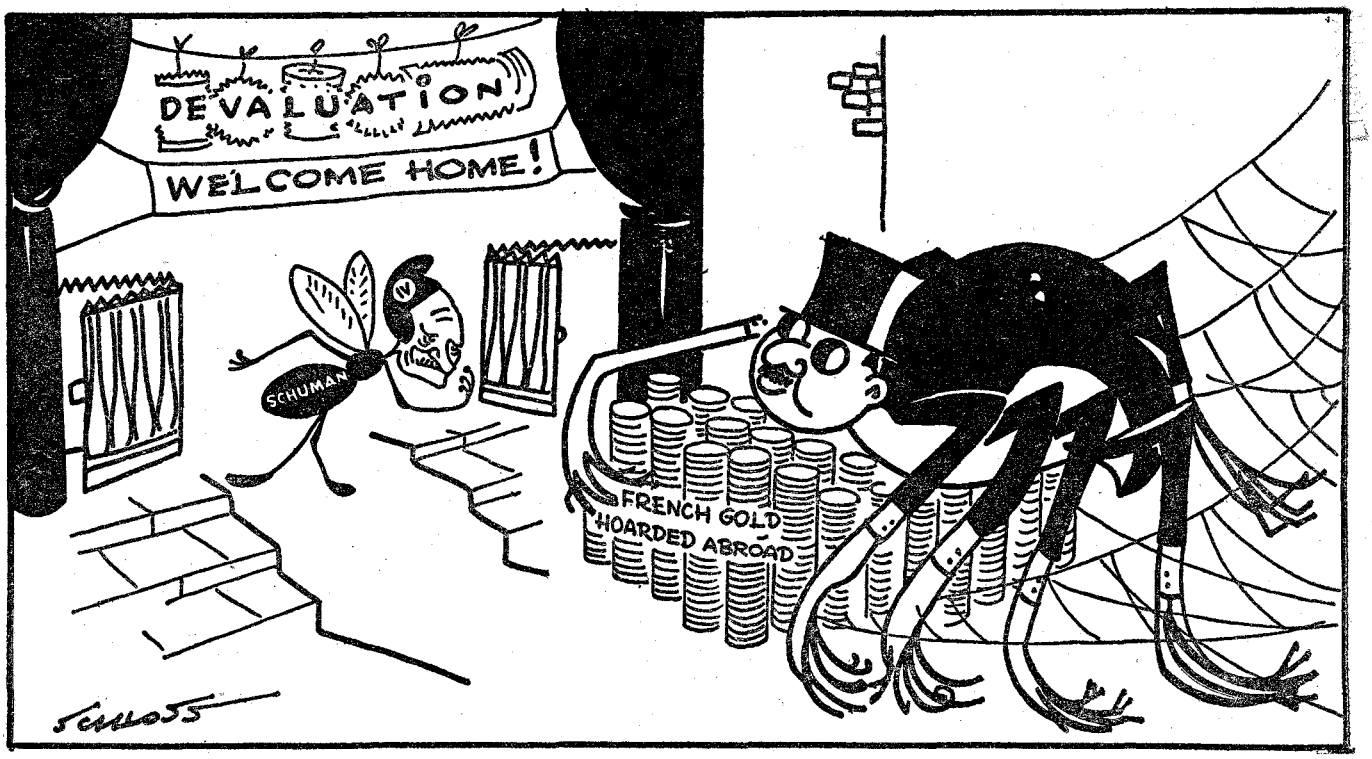
For the moment perhaps Gandhi's death may prevent a widening of the cracks which have appeared inside the Congress Party. Nehru's Cabinet deputy, Patel, is the strong man of the party. He recently assured a group of Calcutta business men that the government of India would not adopt a Socialist program. Patel has warned the Socialists—with whom Nehru's sympathies lie more than with any other group—that they must either toe the Congress Party line or leave the movement. These differences may be patched up for a while, but not resolved.

The real question is whether Nehru alone can hope to succeed where he and Gandhi in combination failed. More concretely, can Nehru hope to solve all the numerous and formidable problems crowding upon his Cabinet along lines that will strengthen the foundations of social democracy? When the question is thus stated, a negative answer seems inevitable, but Nehru has astonishing reserves of statesmanship. Gandhi represented all that was best in the India of yesterday, but Nehru is India's man of destiny. If he can meet the challenge of the dangerous forces which have combined to wrest from him his governmental authority, he may succeed where Gandhi could make no headway. The demobilized soldiers, of whom there are more than a million and a half, and the infuriated Hindus and Sikhs driven out of western Pakistan by the Moslems have given powerful aid to the militant movement which produced Gandhi's assassin. And Nehru's progressive social policies will scarcely receive unqualified support from the princes, who have had to reconcile themselves willy-nilly to the new order, or from the big business men and landlords, who have prospered in the past at the expense of the oppressed peasantry.

On the other wing are the Socialists and Communists, impatient for a radical program of emancipation. The Socialists may regard Nehru as the leader who deserves their loyalty, but the Communists are under no such obligation, and their influence has visibly grown in recent months. The peasants in some regions, notably in parts of southern India, have refused to harvest the ripened rice crops unless the landlords grant basic concessions. Industrial production has been slowed down by the strikes and go-slow tactics preached by the Communists.

When Gandhi's appeals to reason failed, he could always embark on a fast and by this means compel his people back toward a path of sanity. Nehru cannot use such shock tactics. Nor is he an experienced administrator, capable of tackling a government's problems as a permanent official would. Above all, he looks with diminishing hope toward Pakistan for some sign from Jinnah's Cabinet showing that his policy of fair treatment for Moslems within India has its approval and will be reciprocated. Until Pakistan adopts Nehru's policy, he cannot expect to make a lasting impression on India's Hindus.

Writing in *The Nation* at the time of India's achievement of freedom, I said that Nehru's main problem was to guide India safely between the twin dangers of revolution and fascism. Gandhi's death has narrowed that path considerably, and the dangers have grown greater. Nevertheless, the path is still open, and everyone who wants to see a democratic state built in India will watch the efforts of the pilot with sympathy and admiration—but also with increasing anxiety.



"Come into my parlor!" said the Fly to the Spider

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Battle for the Clergy

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, January

WITH the "Save Christianity" and the "Save Western capitalism" chants becoming almost indistinguishable, a major battle for the minds of the clergy, particularly those of the Protestant persuasion, is now being waged in America. For the most part the battle lines are honestly drawn and represent a sharp clash in ideologies, but now and then the reactionary side tries to fudge a bit by backing movements which mask their true character and real sponsors. Such a movement is Spiritual Mobilization of Los Angeles.

Unlike many similar movements founded in the thirties, Spiritual Mobilization has grown and prospered through the years. Two million Americans have signed its "pledge," an innocuous patriotic recital, and more than 10,000 Protestant clergymen have been enrolled as its "representatives." Every month these clergymen receive without charge the bulletin of the organization, special propaganda brochures, and "condensations," printed in editions of 75,000 copies, of such documents as "Blueprint for World Conquest as Outlined by the Communist International." Its headquarters are in Los Angeles, but the movement has been started in every state. Six paid organizers are now working out of branch offices in New York and Chicago, and three field organizers have been appointed for Southern California. Recently Irving K. Merchant, a Negro minister, was added to the pay roll and assigned the task of lining up the Negro clergy.

Spiritual Mobilization has been promoted by a single individual, the interesting Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., pastor of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles. Dr. Fifield was born in Chicago in 1899, is a graduate of Oberlin and the University of Chicago, and for some years was pastor of a large church in Grand Rapids. His brother, Dr. Lawrence Wendell Fifield, now occupies Henry Ward Beecher's former pulpit in Brooklyn. When Dr. James Fifield first arrived in Los Angeles in 1935, the mammoth First Congregational Church could have been described by Auden's phrase for the Anglican cathedrals—a transatlantic luxury liner with a handful of passengers. Construction of the monolithic concrete structure, with social halls, a full-size stage, gymnasium, fifty-six classrooms, eighteen toilets, kitchens, wedding chapels, and three auditoriums, had saddled its 1,000 members with a debt of $750,000. In cold fact, First Congregational was a gloomy monument to the insatiable boosterism of Los Angeles; but Dr. Fifield soon turned the gloom into sunshine.

On July 21, 1942, the $750,000 mortgage was burned in an elaborate ceremony. Today the church has 4,600 members, is debt free, and has an annual budget of a quarter of a million dollars. Its staff consists of eight assistant ministers, a drama instructor, five expensive choirs, a consultant doctor, thirty-five full-time salaried office workers, and some forty miscellaneous employees, not including cooks and janitors. Within its walls are housed four separate churches, a College of Life with 28,000 registrants, a Church of Youth run by and for young people, and a Sunday Evening Club with 900 paid-up members. Indeed, it is the largest, the best-known, the most talked-about Congregational church in the United States. In addition to five Sunday services, beginning with a Golfers' Service at 8 a. m., it sponsors a daily radio program, advertises a complete service for brides—$5 for twenty-five guests in the chapel, $50 for a big church wedding—and offers classes in foreign languages, elocution, music, world affairs, contract bridge, and rumba dancing. This impressive Christian institution costs about $850 a day to operate, but it stands as a mighty bulwark against those leftist tendencies in the United States which in the opinion of Dr. Fifield now center in Los Angeles. "America is going to hell," he said recently, "unless we save freedom."

Angelenos generally attribute Dr. Fifield's phenomenal success to his promotional ability, his "dynamic" personality, and the self-confident manner with which he approaches the mansions of the rich. Fabulous stories circulate about his extraordinary talent for obtaining gifts for the church. He never asks for money; he tells the rich how much to give. Neither a great orator nor a profound scholar, he has a good pulpit technique. Undoubtedly there is a substratum of truth in the stories of his talents as a promoter, but the basic explanation for his vast success is to be found in Spiritual Mobilization, a brilliant invention for softening up the rich.

Arriving in Los Angeles in the years of Upton Sinclair's Epic movement, Dr. Fifield quickly realized that the moneyed folk of the community were suffering from acute insomnia induced by the current plans for plenty, pension movements, and hunger demonstrations. As a good pastor, he immediately sought to restore his parishioners' sense of proportion by renewing their confi-

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor of The Nation, *is the author of "Southern California Country: An Island on the Land."*

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dence in scarcity, capitalism, and the American way. Spiritual Mobilization operated at first from headquarters in the church, and its expenses were included in the church budget, but later, to avoid the denominational tag, Fifield transferred the organization's offices to a downtown building, and since then he has raised the budget independently of the church or its membership.

Spiritual Mobilization has neither members nor elected officials. The 12,742 clergymen who according to the movement's magazine, *Advance,* have become its "representatives," without dues, receive its materials free and are invited to attend occasional luncheons, also free, but their participation ceases at that point. Dr. Fifield assumes sole responsibility for budget and program. There is, to be sure, an advisory committee, but its members, widely scattered across the country, never meet as a body. On this advisory committee are three individuals closely identified with American Action, Inc.—Upton Close, DeWitt Emery, founder of the National Small Business Men's Association, and the Reverend Norman Vincent Peale, whose Guidepost Associates, Inc., parallels Spiritual Mobilization in function and point of view. Among the other members are Felix Morley, Ely Culbertson, Roger W. Babson, Edgar J. Goodspeed, Rupert Hughes, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Dr. Rufus B. von Kleinsmid, Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, and, for reasons which I cannot fathom, Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul, president of the University of California.

NON-DENOMINATIONAL and non-political," Spiritual Mobilization is devoted to the "spiritual preservation of freedom" and thus enjoys tax exemption. It is impossible, however, to accept its claims to be "non-political." In a series of advertisements in the religious press it steadily attacked the New Deal as "pagan state-ism." While purporting to be "anti-fascistic, anti-communistic, and anti-stateistic," Spiritual Mobilization has never, so far as my research indicates, given much attention to fascism; but it has been obsessed with communism. The ideology of Spiritual Mobilization is largely derived from a treatise which it has circulated through the country, "The New Leviathan," by Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of the *Christian Century.* Mr. Hutchinson has maintained a discreet silence about Dr. Fifield's admiration.

The appearance of these ads in the religious press and in such publications as Gerald B. Winrod's the *Defender* evoked widespread protests from various liberal clergymen; caustic comments were made by Reinhold Niebuhr in *Christianity and Crisis* (December 9, 1946) and by Harry F. Ward in *Social Questions* (April, 1945). In a resolution adopted at the Western Unitarian Conference in 1944, 116 Unitarian ministers and laymen asked Dr. Fifield to explain why he did not solicit funds from the clergymen or the churches participating in the program of Spiritual Mobilization. He replied that since "non-ministers who have a common stake in the American and Christian traditions cannot contribute service," it was "only natural that they give substance instead" and provide for our "modest budget." The budget for last year, however, was $170,000, which can hardly be regarded as "modest," except by such gifted fund-raisers as Dr. Fifield, and "non-ministers" is at best a vague identification of the contributors. According to a story in the New York *Post,* Dr. Fifield is supposed to have garnered $50,000 for Spiritual Mobilization after an impassioned speech on "pagan state-ism" at a luncheon meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers in 1944. While he has denied that the N. A. M. is a contributor, Dr. Fifield has said nothing about its members. The continuing protests against the Spiritual Mobilization advertisements finally provoked a terse announcement by the *Christian Century,* on January 22, 1947, that "the advertising has now come to an end and will not be renewed."

If the ads were consistently vague and frequently confusing, the hundreds of thousands of brochures which Spiritual Mobilization has distributed to the American clergy are quite the opposite. Among them are such pamphlets as "Stateism's Perils" by Upton Close, attacking the integrity of Selective Service administration in war time; "Facts, Figures, and Promises" by Senator Albert W. Hawkes; "Collectivist Trends" by Herbert Hoover; and "Bureaucracy at Work" by Channing Pollock. Nor can it be said that the suggested "reading list" is altogether impartial, since it gives high priority to such works as "Man Versus the State" by Herbert Spencer, "Meet Your Congress" by John T. Flynn, "Omnipotent Government" by Ludwig von Mises, "Religion Worth Having" by Thomas Nixon Carver (published by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce), and, inevitably, "The Road to Serfdom" by F. A. Hayek.

CERTAINLY there is nothing ambiguous about Dr. Fifield's personal political convictions, which naturally find reflection in the organization he dominates. An editorial in the bulletin of the First Congregational Church for October 15, 1942, expressed frankly the following views: "The vast majority of people prefer to be led rather than to lead. The processes of so-called 'democracy' would be little short of torture to nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the world. . . . Much of the energy of our so-called 'most civilized' people has been quite unconsciously spent in trying to thwart the laws of nature, which would make the fittest survive, and in supporting and upbuilding the weak, whom nature would destroy and who, if not allowed to pass off the scene as nature has decreed, rapidly multiply and numerically overpower those very people and nations who have sacrificed for their continued existence." This crude paraphrase of

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Herbert Spencer was unsigned, but it must have pleased Dr. Fifield, for he ordered 10,000 extra copies printed.

On March 3, 1946, while serving as a member of Mayor Fletcher Bowron's Home Front Unity Committee, Dr. Fifield preached a sermon on Interracial Understanding, using as his text the passage in Acts 17:26, ". . . of one blood all nations." In the course of this remarkable sermon he charged that cooperation with Catholics was "most difficult," spanked the Jews for a number of imaginary derelictions ("Jewish relations in Los Angeles are moving on toward the pogroms against them in Germany"), and opposed the elimination of restrictive covenants. He then proceeded to castigate a Negro woman physician of national reputation in the field of public health for having sought and obtained membership in the Women's University Club of Los Angeles. As a concluding note he said: "Los Angeles has got to mature, socially and spiritually. It is no longer a big town but a great city. . . . There is in it room for the Negro, the Mexican, Jew, Japanese, Chinese, and all other groups. . . . But there has got to be room in it also for us Anglo-Saxons—who are a minority group, planet-wide."

In a sermon on Christian Race Relations which he preached on August 4, 1946, Dr. Fifield referred to himself as "the best friend the minorities have in Los Angeles." He began by saying that he had been raised by "a Negro mammy," but apparently he would not want his "mammy" as a next-door neighbor, for he vigorously condemned "the efforts of minorities to push in where they are not wanted." In the same sermon he denounced public protest over the exclusion from Constitution Hall of the great Negro singer, Marian Anderson, as "an abomination unto the Lord" and attacked a proposed state measure for a Fair Employment Practices Committee. Boasting familiarity with "hundreds of official reports," he declared he had "never found a single incident of discrimination." "If," he said, "a black man gets in the way of a policeman's club, he gets hit. . . . We do not intend to turn the town over to Jews, Mexicans, and Negroes."

For those representatives of wealth in Los Angeles who have not been sufficiently impressed with the propaganda zeal of Spiritual Mobilization Dr. Fifield has formed still another successful organization, Government Research, Inc. This concern watches municipal bond issues, pension plans for city employees, and related matters with the same eagle eye that Spiritual Mobilization fastens on "pagan state-ism."

In telling the story of how he came to found Spiritual Mobilization Dr. Fifield sorrowfully records that at first a number of fellow-ministers condemned the project for its lack of social vision. And then one day a business man came to see him and expressed deep concern "for the future of free enterprise." He then realized that the freedoms must stand or fall together—free enterprise and religious freedom, freedom for monopolies and freedom of press. After that he never questioned the good faith of those apostles of rugged individualism who had come to him in his hour of doubt, like Elijah's ravens, bringing timely gifts; nor can it be said that their trust in him has been misplaced.

A Foolish Proposal

BY LEONARD ENGEL

As A result of the continuing Soviet-American deadlock on the control of atomic energy a considerable number of scientists are giving serious hearing to a foolish and dangerous idea—namely, the suppression of large-scale atomic research for a generation, after which the world will presumably be grown-up and safely peaceful. This notion was first voiced last spring by Cuthbert Daniel and Arthur M. Squires, two of the younger men in the University of Chicago's war-time laboratory. Daniel and Squires suggested that the expected benefits of atomic power were not great enough to outweigh the risk of atomic war and that atomic war could be surely avoided only by halting atomic-power development. Professor David F. Cavers of the Harvard Law School repeated their proposal in a widely publicized article in the October issue of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. Some sympathy for the idea has also been expressed by Harold Urey and Leo Szilard.

The Daniel-Squires proposal is absurd. It would not only deprive the world of a sorely needed source of power, whose promise the two scientists underestimate, but fail to make the world secure. The threat of atomic war could not be removed by destroying Oak Ridge; the knowledge that is in men's heads would also have to be destroyed. And that would mean ferreting out and burning an endless store of scientific papers, published and secret, and shooting or otherwise disposing of the physicists of all countries, as well as many of the thousands of men who worked for the Manhattan District. There must be a more rational solution for the atomic problem.

The attention given the Daniel-Squires plan reveals the current confusion among American scientists. For in supporting it they are abandoning the traditional ideal of Western science—the unfettered pursuit of knowledge and its free application to the betterment of man. They should not, however, be criticized hastily. American education is narrowly specialized, and few scientists are equipped to deal with a political problem like the control of atomic energy. Moreover, the atomic impasse is not the scientists' doing. It is a consequence of the division of the world into two camps. Ending the division is a task for the nation as a whole, not merely for its scientific section.

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Where Our Dollars Go in China

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

PRODDED by a strident minority of Republicans in Congress, the Administration has reluctantly decided to ask for $300,000,000 for China in its gigantic overseas aid program. Although aid to China has been frequently included in the cost of the Administration's economic plan for "checking the advances of communism," it has been regarded as in a different category from Marshall Plan aid to Europe, and not solely for geographical reasons. The European Recovery Program has been carefully tailored to do a specific job: to place Europe on its feet economically within five years. But no one pretends that the $20,000,000 a month proposed for China will do much for Chinese recovery. No one believes that it will check the inflation which has prostrated the country's economy. No one has suggested that its benefits will all finally trickle through to the Chinese people, who need help so badly. Secretary Marshall has frankly admitted that the State Department has had "great difficulty" in devising a program with a chance of being 70 per cent effective.

Nevertheless, a Kuomintang financial mission now in Washington is reported to be trying to persuade the United States to increase its gift to the present Chinese regime to $500,000,000. And, paradoxically, some of the Republicans who are urging cuts in E. R. P. want to raise the amount granted to China. Since they know far less than the State Department about how the money could be used effectively, they have based their arguments for increased aid chiefly on political conditions. They say that if it is necessary to bolster the economies of Greece, Italy, and France as bulwarks against communism, surely the same thing should be done in China, where the threat of communism is much greater.

There are many answers to this argument, but most of them presuppose a knowledge of China which few Congressmen possess. It is difficult and even hazardous to try to explain the important distinction between Europe's Moscow-controlled Communist parties, whose activities are coordinated by the Cominform, and China's communism, which developed largely as an indigenous agrarian movement and even now gets little direction or material help from Moscow. The average American, exposed to effective Kuomintang propaganda in this country, can hardly believe the distinction exists. And, similarly, few Americans and fewer Congressmen have any conception of the repressive character of the Kuomintang dictatorship. Even less do they understand the powerful undercurrents in China, particularly in rural areas, which make a basic political change inevitable.

Before authorizing more aid, economic or military, to Kuomintang China the Republicans in Congress might well ask what has happened to the *more than two and a half billion dollars' worth* that has been provided since V-J Day. If they fail to do so after hearing the charges of widespread graft and corruption made by General Wedemeyer and others against the Kuomintang regime, they can hardly ask with good grace for the support of the voters at the next election on the ground that they have protected the interests of the American taxpayers.

THE facts are indisputable. From V-J Day until the beginning of the present year the United States made available to China—in the form of credits, surplus property, direct military aid, and other forms of assistance—goods and services valued at $2,617,500,000 at the minimum. In some estimates the amount is more than $3,000,000,000. An estimate made for the Foreign Policy Association values the military aid alone at $845,000,000. In addition, surplus war property turned over to the Nanking government had a procurement cost of $825,000,000, and China's share in the UNRRA program, including administration costs, is set at $492,950,000. The rest of the sum is made up of Export-Import Bank credits, lend-lease goods, and miscellaneous aid.

What became of the surplus military equipment and other supplies turned over to China by the United States after the war will probably never be fully known. That they were of any real value in helping China to rebuild its war-shattered industry and stabilize its economy is doubtful. Large quantities of the supplies are known to have passed into the possession of persons who speculated with them or allowed them to rust and deteriorate. Trucks and other equipment supposed to be used for economic reconstruction have been taken over by the military for use in the civil war.

Even more shocking has been the prostitution of UNRRA relief funds for military, political, and private ends. The story of the misuse of UNRRA supplies by CNRRA, the Chinese government agency charged with the responsibility for distributing these supplies, has been told in part by the New York *Times* and other responsible American newspapers. Details have been provided by UNRRA employees and independent Chinese sources. In June, 1946, three hundred UNRRA employees signed a letter to Director LaGuardia complaining that UNRRA supplies and services were improperly handled and that the purpose for which they were contributed was disregarded. "The result," they

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declared, "is valuable supplies wasting, deteriorating, and being pilfered—while the starving continue to starve . . . [and] supplies pile up in warehouses, undelivered to the needy and hungry." Three hundred UNRRA trucks are reported to have been sold to middlemen by CNRRA in one month and then delivered to the Kuomintang army. In one civil-war zone an UNRRA official discovered that flour intended for the starving population was being distributed to landlords who had emigrated to avoid the advancing Communist forces. These refugees "were well dressed in silk gowns and carried Western clothes; they carried the flour off in rickshas with the help of coolies."

In its contract with UNRRA the Chinese government formally agreed to the non-discrimination policies which governed UNRRA's activities throughout the world. The contract specified:

> That in any area where relief and rehabilitation operations are being conducted . . . relief and rehabilitation in all of its aspects shall be distributed or dispensed fairly on the basis of the relative needs of the population in the area, and without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.
>
> That at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of supplies because of race, creed, or political belief.

Yet UNRRA officials struggled in vain for two years to distribute any substantial amount of its supplies to the more than 100,000,000 Chinese living in the partisan or liberated areas. According to unofficial estimates, supported by a statement issued by sixty UNRRA staff members, less than 2 per cent of the 1,800,000 tons of supplies shipped by UNRRA to China was delivered to the Communist areas. UNRRA ships attempting to deliver supplies to Communist-held ports were bombed by Kuomintang airmen flying American planes. Repeated efforts by LaGuardia, General Rooks, Harland Cleveland, and other high UNRRA officials to arrange deliveries to the population of these areas were frustrated by the failure of local Kuomintang officials and military leaders to carry out Nanking's promises. In desperation, UNRRA took action in the middle of 1947 and impounded all shipments destined for North China, for either Communist or Kuomintang areas—only to turn them over at the end of the year to the Kuomintang.

Commenting on UNRRA's record in China, the American-owned *Chinese Weekly Review* caustically remarked that "undoubtedly China was slightly better off as a result of the pouring into the country, however inefficiently, of approximately a half-billion American dollars in cash and commodities; however, one cannot but conclude that only a fraction of the program's aims was achieved and that many things were accomplished which most certainly should not have been."

AMERICA has granted nearly a billion dollars' worth of military aid to one contestant in China's civil war, though this, strictly speaking, was illegal. In June, 1946, General Marshall, who was then acting as ambassador to China, asked Congress to authorize the assignment of a small group of American army officers to act as advisers in the reorganization of the Chinese army. Under the plan then under consideration the reorganization was to take in both Kuomintang and Communist forces. Congressional approval was never granted. But the American Military Advisory Group in China (MAGIC) not only remained but expanded its activities in support of the Kuomintang. Originally the group, which was supposed to number only 750 officers, confined itself to giving advice on the modernization of the army structure at the top levels, on officer training, and on other matters in the non-combat field. Recently, however, MAGIC officers have been training Kuomintang combat troops in Formosa. General Marshall's testimony to Congress revealed, moreover, that the number of officers in MAGIC has been quietly increased to 1,000. A group of American naval officers and men is similarly engaged, without Congressional authorization, in training Kuomintang naval forces at Tsingtao.

Lieutenant General Wedemeyer's unpublished report is believed to have advocated—as did William Bullitt's widely publicized article—a full-scale reorganization of the Kuomintang's army and navy under American supervision. Although this would constitute direct intervention in China's civil war, the State Department's opposition to the plan appears to rest on practical rather than on legal or moral grounds. Despite our extensive aid, the Kuomintang armies have shown themselves, man for man, far less than a match for the relatively untrained, poorly equipped Communist armies. American military observers have been shocked to see crack mechanized Kuomintang divisions in Manchuria seek the shelter of city walls in order to defend themselves against numerically inferior Communist forces. The high ranks of officers are shot through with inefficiency and graft. Substantial amounts of American arms and equipment have fallen into Communist hands without even the formality of a battle to camouflage the transaction.

Discouraged by the poor showing of the Kuomintang troops, American military observers are reported to have been urging Chiang Kai-shek for many months to give up his precarious toe-hold in Manchuria and North China and to withdraw south of the Yellow River. Both Marshall and Wedemeyer are known to have pressed for a drastic reduction in the size of the Chinese army so that it could be properly trained and equipped for modern warfare. Realizing that such a reorganization could never be accomplished under the present venal war-lord system, General Wedemeyer is believed to have insisted on strict American controls as a condition for increased

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American military aid. Chiang Kai-shek is reported to have been willing to accept this condition, but the more reactionary groups within the Kuomintang, such as the CC clique, sensing a threat to their power, have refused to go along. Since experience has shown that help given without control is almost entirely wasted, the State Department appears to have turned thumbs down on the plan for expanded military assistance.

The $300,000,000 economic-aid program, on the other hand, seems certain of Congressional approval. Although it is ridiculous to pretend that this expenditure will have no political significance, it is obviously but a small fraction of the amount that would eventually be needed to save Chiang's regime from collapse. No one, not even Mr. Bullitt, seems prepared to spend the billions that would be necessary for that. Whether the $300,000,000 will be partially or wholly wasted will depend largely on how it is used. The greater part of China's 450,000,000 people lack the basic necessities of life. If the money is spent for food, medical supplies, and clothing, and if these articles are distributed to the whole Chinese people, under American supervision, the expenditure will be justified. But if any portion of the sum is turned over to the Nanking government, we can be certain that it will not be used for the purpose for which it was intended and that much of it will find its way into private bank accounts. While those who urge direct aid to the Kuomintang imagine that American funds will "save China from communism," past experience shows clearly that they will serve only to feed the corruption which has driven even some very conservative Chinese to embrace communism as a lesser evil.

Chinese Students Speak

[The repressive character of the dictatorship in China was made clear in a letter addressed to the American Student Conference on Christian Frontiers, meeting last month at Lawrence, Kansas, by the National Student Federation of China. The federation came into being as the result of a spontaneous student movement to rally opinion against the civil war and the tyranny and corruption of the national government and to press for reforms in education. Although it has been officially banned, it is active in the major government universities as well as in the Christian and private colleges. Excerpts from the letter are printed below.]

IN OUR people's rise against the tyrannical regime which has seated itself in power they are depressed by the knowledge that the American government has been giving financial and military aid in large quantities to the Kuomintang. The latter's fighting power and military ardor have thus been bolstered. Under the pretense of "combating communism" the Kuomintang reactionaries have attempted to blind us to the fact that their real purpose is to deny us democracy and freedom and to maintain themselves in absolute power and corruption. Whatever the real intention of the American government in giving the supplies, and however the American public understands or misunderstands the situation, the facts are indisputable: every additional ounce of American aid bolsters the spirit of fascism and brings about further suppression of the liberal intellectual groups.

Just last month the Democratic League, the only party between the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, composed largely of professional men, tradespeople, and teachers, was outlawed, and more than twenty of its leaders executed. Yet some persons abroad still consider the present Chinese government . . . a "free government." It is indeed "free" to kill anybody it wants to. And just at the beginning of the school term more than 200 professors and 3,000 students from universities all over the country were expelled because of their "liberal leanings." All this has been done in China while aid and supplies were coming from America. It is only too plain that the United States, which is interested in strengthening democracy, is defeating its own purpose.

We are absolutely certain that the Americans are a peace-loving people. Our two great nations on opposite sides of the Pacific have always had most admirable friendly relations. We are sure that you do not want to support a reactionary regime which oppresses us and is against your own interests. Why, then, have you permitted your government to pursue a policy in China that has created a great deal of misunderstanding and a growing barrier between the peoples of the two countries? Why do you keep silent? You probably have thought . . . that the struggle in China was simply between two political and military groups—the Nationalists and the Communists—and had nothing to do with the people. . . . But you must realize that human lives are at stake, millions of lives. The struggle is basically one of the whole people against the fascist oppression of the Nationalist reactionaries.

Would you do something now? An expression of your opposition to your government's present policy in China would be very helpful. It might save many lives. We therefore urge you to call for the immediate cessation of all military aid to the Kuomintang dictatorship and for an abandonment of America's imperialistic policy. We also ask for your cooperation, spiritual and material.

Dear friends! The tide of democracy is already running high in China. It will not be turned back. The people of China are fully awakened and are determined to take their fate in their hands. The days of the reactionary regime, however much outside help it receives, are numbered. Its downfall is inevitable. A democratic coalition government, of the people, for the people, and by the people, cannot and must not be prevented. It will be for the good of all—the good of the Chinese people and the peace of the world. A new age is coming—a new age of democracy and freedom for all. . . . One does not need to be afraid of it. You and we should welcome it and work hard so that it may be realized the sooner. We trust that you will do your part and give us encouragement.

[*Signed*] Chang Liao,
The National Student Federation of China.

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After a Strike Is Lost

BY HELEN DELICH

Baltimore, January 26

IF PROOF is needed that the Taft-Hartley act is just what employers longed for, it can be found in the local shipyards of the East Coast Bethlehem Steel Company, where the longest major strike since the war was recently lost. (See Pattern for Union Busting, by Wilbur H. Baldinger, in *The Nation* of November 15.)

The contract agreed on when the walkout had lasted 137 days and the starving and freezing workers could stand no more was dictated by the company. For reasons of its own Bethlehem saw fit to insert a standard clause ostensibly precluding discrimination against men who had supported the strike, but it has taken advantage of the new labor law to bar supervisory employees from the protection of the clause. If you refer to it around the yards today, there is hollow laughter from the men who were supervisors before the strike and who refused to cross the picket lines. They are back working with their tools while a former scab stands over them, watching closely for the slightest pretext for discharging them. Instead of receiving the munificent twelve-cent-an-hour pay boost granted by Bethlehem to its returning workers, these former supervisors have suffered a twenty-eight-cent-an-hour loss by being sent down to the bottom of the ladder. When the union protests, Bethlehem icily replies that "the grievance is improperly introduced, inasmuch as the company and the union agreed that no question involving a salaried leader should be handled as a grievance under the agreement."

Bethlehem's new sense of power has been manifested most arrogantly in its three Baltimore yards, where the union cracked earlier than in any of the other nineteen East and Gulf Coast yards. Baltimore has a reputation for being a "scab town"; its workers have never learned the importance of labor unity and strength. Knowing this, Bethlehem concentrated its efforts here, and today, after breaking the strike, it is shoving its employees around like cattle. Along the entire waterfront it is discriminating against individuals who remained faithful to John Green's International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers. Eighty men, nearly one-third of the "work leaders," at the large Key Highway repair yard near the center of Baltimore have been removed from their supervisory posts and sent back to their tools.

At the Patapsco Scrap Yard at Fairfield-Baltimore, where Bethlehem set a national shipbuilding record during the war, the only five work leaders who wouldn't cross the picket lines have been discharged outright, and Bethlehem is fighting to keep them from getting unemployment compensation. In the early days of the tie-up they received compensation because the yards were closed. When the yards reopened, they were afraid to defy the pickets and go back, even if they were driven through the gates in the automobiles of the company's officers. Bethlehem wrote them down as having quit their job and dropped them from the pay roll about six weeks before the surrender was signed. Afterward, when they applied for compensation, the company said they had quit voluntarily and none was due them. A referee on the Employment Security Board declared that the men were actually discharged and entitled to compensation, but Bethlehem refused to comply and brought the case before the board itself. The board decided against the men.

Under the Taft-Hartley act the company has at its disposal another convenient device for handling recalcitrant workers. It can apply the new interchangeability clause in such a way as to lessen the safety of working conditions. According to a union shop committeeman, a member of the company's own safety committee at Key Highway, Bethlehem has permitted "bolter-ups" to put up staging clips, or platforms, though the task should properly be assigned only to certified welders. Only a man who knows temperatures and metals thoroughly can tell whether a staging clip is strong enough, and "bolter-ups" do not have this knowledge.

You can't rearrange the work patterns of a large shipyard without impairing efficiency. One old hand told me that the new work leaders—the former scabs—are so confused that they lose a couple of hours a day "trying to tell the men what job to begin on." This is the company's loss. The injury to labor can be seen in the following incident. Recently a Key Highway shop steward presented a grievance to a certain department head who had always been considered "a swell guy, a guy you could go to any time." He got this answer: "How can we believe a man is loyal to the company when he goes outside the company and brings in a third party [the union!] to work for him?" It was fear that had changed that man—fear caused by the lost strike and the new law.

Other unions are going to encounter the same arrogance when their contracts come up for renewal—particularly Philip Murray's steelworkers, who also have to deal with Bethlehem's Eugene Grace. The rest of labor has realized too late that what happened to the shipyard workers can also happen to them.

HELEN DELICH is a labor writer for the Baltimore Sun.

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Del Vayo—Italy's New Popular Front

Rome, January 23

THIS year the Italian Socialist Congress was more than a simple party meeting; it represented, in miniature, the progressive and liberal forces of all Europe today. Like France, Italy presents a tragic drama of a lost opportunity. Lost only momentarily, however, for I still maintain that in the end nothing can stop the advance of socialism.

The elements of the drama are almost the same in Italy and France: the masses which came out of the battle for liberation with inadequate political preparation and an intense desire for national reconciliation that made them forget the aggressive nature of capitalist reaction; a bourgeoisie compromised by support of fascism and collaboration with the invader but still vigorous enough to fight for the restoration of its old privileges; a group of liberals who, antagonized by certain aspects of Soviet policy and Communist tactics, have adopted an anti-Russian, anti-Communist position that makes them allies, indeed followers, of De Gasperi and De Gaulle; and finally the influence of the United States, whose economic strength permits it, for the time being, to determine the trend in Europe, and which has thrown its weight against the progressive forces. In Italy another actor appears on the stage—the Vatican.

The Vatican and its representative in Italian politics, De Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party, are the backbone of the new reaction whose campaign has been planned with the full approval of Western-bloc diplomats. This was one of the major concerns of the Socialist Congress: on April 18 a new Parliament will be elected to sit for the next five years —a Parliament which can, if its composition is favorable, assure the continuation in power of a Vatican-controlled government and an economic hierarchy supported by foreign capital.

The elections may produce surprises. An astute Catholic politician like Don Sturzo, writing in the *Populo* three days ago, insisted that a Socialist-Communist victory was not impossible. People in left circles with whom I spoke were more reserved, saying that if 40 or 45 per cent of the votes were cast for the left bloc, that would constitute a major success. It would mean a large opposition bloc in the Parliament, but until now De Gasperi has managed to stay in office with a bare majority, and no doubt he would hang on if he had a one-vote lead in the Chamber. The average American is likely to consider this as normal democratic procedure, not realizing how many ways there are of swinging an Italian election. Direct pressure may come, for instance, from the Minister of Interior, who controls all the police and local authorities. An indirect method of influencing the votes of millions of underfed people is to hammer away, as the right is doing, on the theme that a left victory will cross Italy off the list of beneficiaries under the Marshall Plan.

I wish some of my liberal American friends could have been present at the Socialist Congress to hear Riccardo Lombardi's incisive analysis of the Marshall Plan. Lombardi is an old-time liberal who came into the Socialist ranks from Parri's Action Party. He insisted that the attitude of Socialists toward the Marshall Plan must be critical but not negative. He pointed out that the plan might have resulted in enormous gains for European and American democracy had it steered clear of political goals. What was to be an instrument of world stabilization, said Lombardi, has now become little more than a weapon of power politics. None the less, he believes that it is not yet too late to return to the original concept of European reconstruction, and he urged intensive Socialist action in favor of a new Economic Conference of all Eastern and Western European nations—a proposal I myself made not so long ago in *The Nation* (November 29, 1947).

The immediate task before the Congress was to map out the campaign of the *Fronte Populare Democratica,* which faces its first test of strength in the April elections. The Socialists and Communists are the core of this grouping, but they expect to draw in certain elements of the professional and middle classes who have retained enough of the anti-clerical tradition to balk at the idea of a Vatican-controlled government. This intermediate group is not large. The Third Force has an even narrower base in Italy than in France.

However, in spite of predictions to the contrary, the regular Socialist Party headed by Pietro Nenni has held its strength almost intact. It has not lost a single worker, and minor defections in professional and middle-class ranks have been more than compensated by gains among the peasantry. The Socialists and Communists have drawn up single *Fronte Populare* slates for the elections, but the Congress made it clear that the majority of Socialists oppose a merger of the two parties and are determined to maintain their separate political identity and policy. At one of the sessions the opposition leader, I. M. Lombardo, who represented Italy in recent economic negotiations at Washington, delivered a long speech in defense of the Marshall Plan. When he finished, the fiery Pertini, one of Italy's most popular figures and a former commander of a Resistance brigade, strode to the rostrum. Turning to the journalists at the press table, he shouted: "And now if you want to tell your readers the truth, tell them this is a congress of free, independent Socialists where Lombardo can speak his mind without being censored or purged and without endangering the unity of our party."

The next day Nenni explained that the Socialists took the initiative in forming *Fronte Populare Democratica* with the elections in mind but with a long-range objective as well. The F. P. D. is the logical reply to the efforts of the clerical reaction to prevent the Italian workers from carrying through the reconstruction of a new Italy. It was distressing to hear Nenni recount the whole story of the concessions made by the left since 1944 in order to forge some kind of democratic national unity. But the Italian bourgeoisie, represented by De Gasperi and supported by the Vatican, rejected any form of "New Deal" that would impose the slightest restriction on their economic privileges.

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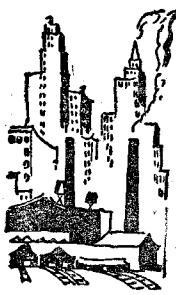

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Pound and the Franc

ON THE devaluation of the franc official Washington seems to speak with two voices. A spokesman for the State Department welcomed the move heartily in principle but added that this did not necessarily mean approval of all details. From the Treasury came word that the American authorities agreed with the majority of the board of the International Monetary Fund in disapproving the methods adopted by the French government.

In business circles the reestablishment in France of a free market for gold and foreign currencies is widely applauded. "Bankers and foreign trade interests," according to the *Journal of Commerce,* "generally indorsed the action as a realistic move of self-assistance." They agree, apparently, with the French Socialists that it is a move away from a planned economy, a step toward the resuscitation of free enterprise in France and perhaps in Europe. That prospect makes Léon Blum unhappy, but it delights the *Wall Street Journal.* "The best foundation for world recovery," it declares, "is in a freer trade between nations. And that is impossible without currencies that can be freely used."

I have no quarrel with that statement as a broad principle, but I am far from convinced that conditions are ripe for the general restoration of free exchanges. The *Wall Street Journal* maintains editorially that the "real" value of the pound sterling is not the official rate of $4.02 but the black-market quotation of $2.50. It believes that it is only doctrinaire obstinacy that blinds the British government to this fact and prevents it from removing its controls and allowing the forces of supply and demand to determine the sterling exchange rate. "The success of Britain's Socialist government in controlling the nation's economy for its own purpose depends," it declares, "upon a controlled price for the pound. The economic planners abhor a free market, for it destroys their experiments."

The writer of this editorial seems to have overlooked the fact that the British government's expressed determination to maintain present exchange rates has the support of the conservatives and most British business men. If a non-Socialist government replaced it, this particular policy would almost certainly be maintained, for there are "realities" in the situation which the *Wall Street Journal* has ignored. Its arguments are based on two highly debatable assumptions: (a) that a free market provides the only true measure of value in all circumstances; (b) that freedom of the exchanges ought to be given priority over all other considerations.

In discussing the real value of sterling at the present time we have to consider not only the going price in New York or Zurich of pound notes, which cannot legally be taken into Britain, but also the actual purchasing power of sterling. If the pound were overvalued at the pegged exchange rate of $4.02, as the franc palpably was at 119 to the dollar, we should expect prices of British exports to have risen farther above the pre-war level than those of imports. In fact, the opposite is true: prices of the foods and raw materials which Britain buys overseas have, as a whole, increased more than those of the innumerable manufactured articles which it sells abroad. The steady expansion of British exports indicates that prices are not badly out of line. At present the problem is not inability to sell; it is rather physical inability to make deliveries quickly enough to satisfy impatient customers.

In terms of goods, the pound sterling, in fact, is worth at least as much as $4.02. But this does not mean that if Britain dropped exchange controls and established a free market for currencies, sterling would not sink far below this level. For we have to remember that the exchange position is complicated by the huge sterling debt which Britain incurred during the war. With the establishment of a free exchange market many foreign owners of balances in London would undoubtedly seek to turn their pounds into dollars, even though they incurred heavy losses in the process. Probably many English capitalists would also seek to transfer part of their fortunes to New York. To some extent such a flight from the pound would be inspired by the desire to buy scarce goods in the United States, but a more powerful motive would be the search for security. In the present state of international tension, when the whole future of Europe is so uncertain, many capitalists would rather have $2.50 lying idle in an American bank than £1 earning an income in Britain.

An international exchange market will only work smoothly when monetary transfers between countries arise from normal business transactions. When the dominant mood of moneyed men is *sauve qui peut,* the free exchange value of a currency bears little relation to its intrinsic worth. That fact may be demonstrated in France during the next few months. The French government hopes that a free market will attract some of the billions in gold and hard currencies which Frenchmen are hoarding at home or have salted away abroad. My hunch is—I hope it's wrong—that most of the hoarders will cling to their piles and that other Frenchmen will take advantage of the free market to turn francs into dollars. Almost certainly this will be the case unless the Schuman government succeeds in balancing the budget and drastically curtailing the supply of currency.

Meanwhile, until international tension lessens and the sterling debt is funded, the British government would be ill-advised to follow the French example. Whatever the advantages of a free market for sterling, the disadvantages would be much greater. There would be a sharp increase in the price of all imported goods and raw materials, leading to a steep rise in the cost of living. The comparative internal stability which has been achieved would be shattered. Pressure for wage increases would become irresistible, and the situation of all persons dependent on fixed incomes rendered desperate. No doubt all planning would be deranged, to the great satisfaction of the *Wall Street Journal,* but would that facilitate an orderly return to a free-market economy? Much more likely, the upshot would be an economic anarchy which would have disastrous repercussions throughout the world.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Case History for Lake Success

THE GREAT REHEARSAL. The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. By Carl Van Doren. The Viking Press. $3.75.

FOR an entire generation discussion of the Constitution of the United States has been dominated, one should say haunted, by the awful suspicion that it was nothing more than a rationalization of economic motives. This immortal document, Charles A. Beard declared in 1913, was in fact a contrivance of "money, public securities, manufactures, and trade and shipping" for the circumvention of "the small farming and debtor interests." Beard's critics usually succeed, by the vehemence of their protest, only in betraying how much they are obsessed. Even purely theoretical or juristic analysts show an uncomfortable awareness that if a statute has no reality apart from the economic fabric, they may be talking nonsense. The forms of republican government cease to be of much intrinsic worth if the compelling motives at the Convention of 1787 were "the economic advantages which the beneficiaries expected would accrue to themselves first."

In Mr. Van Doren's narrative the name of Charles A. Beard does not appear. But on the very last page the specter raises his head: there have been those, Mr. Van Doren notes, who argue that the Constitution "was almost a conspiracy against the people, in which crafty men built a new government in their own interest, then tricked or cajoled the people into accepting it," but this time the demon gets short shrift: "The record does not bear this argument out." Mr. Van Doren concludes triumphantly with the bricklayers of Philadelphia marching in the Federal Procession under the brave motto that this edifice was the work of their hands.

The fascination in the study of history is the historians. In 1913 the concept of economic rationalization was a mighty weapon for progressives, a bludgeon to beat down "vague abstractions" and expose "determining forces," generally sinister. But in 1948 enlightened and humane sentiment has other objectives. By the title of his book Mr. Van Doren proclaims it: here, indeed, was rehearsal for a United Nations. Nothing is to be gained by penetrating to the financial egotism behind the thoughts and deeds of men; men can say just exactly what they mean, and in 1787 they did. If men have good-will and common sense, if they will meet each other halfway, above all if they will not hold tight to preconceptions, they can work out postulates for getting along with each other. The difficulty to be overcome is not economic lust or class antagonism; it is self-righteousness, doctrinaire rigidity, and rustic prejudice. In 1787 sanity, humor, and the rule of thumb triumphed over idealism and passion. Washington and Franklin, "organizing for order, not for Utopia," confident only of fallibility and not aspiring to perfection, gave the future a safe if not a flawless foundation, despite the dashing Hamilton, the intransigent Mason, and the bull-headed "wordless prejudices" of the isolationists. If this story can be told in its own terms, if the "record" speaks for itself, the moral is inescapable. Only there must, if the Assembly is to succeed, be some Franklin to persuade the delegates—"the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others."

Mr. Van Doren has proved himself a master at letting a story tell itself. I would never have believed that this story, as sheer narrative, could be so engrossing. One may still wonder whether the economic pressures, though banished from the stage, did not linger in the wings, and when one thinks of the analogy with Lake Success, one remembers, sadly that the men of Philadelphia were children of the rational eighteenth century and of the Baconian tradition. None of them was a public prosecutor. Still, maybe the determinists, the Marxists, the Freudians, and the business men are all wrong; maybe men do not always rationalize hidden desires or seek for selfish gains. It would be comfortable to suppose so. Maybe George Washington, in the most secret depths of his being, concealed nothing behind his conviction that the choice was between order and anarchy. Maybe that is still the choice. Students, both of American affairs and international affairs, will do well to ponder the subtle art with which Mr. Van Doren argues this apparently artless thesis.

PERRY MILLER

The Personality of Freud

FREUD: HIS LIFE AND MIND. A Biography by Helen Walker Puner. Howell, Soskin. $4.

FREUD: ON WAR, SEX, AND NEUROSIS. Arts and Science Press. $3.

PRESUMABLY, we are in for not one but several *tu quoque* biographies of Sigmund Freud. On this assumption, one begins Mrs. Puner's with appreciation for the fact that she does not seem obfuscated either by admiration or alarm, and offers a plausible psychoanalytical account of the development of some facets of Freud's personality, and of how they affected his ideas. The interest of her book lies in its bringing together testimony and speculations about Freud's personality by a number of persons who knew him well.

As one reads on, it begins to seem anomalous that a biography—even a popular one—of so scrupulous and refined a person as Freud should be so sloppily written, and printed, as to contain elementary mistakes in grammar; and that cardinal statements like those which Mrs. Puner makes about the stern aloofness of Freud's father should be contradicted by the examples she gives of his actual behavior toward his son. Both the statements and the examples are obviously true, but Mrs. Puner does nothing to reconcile them into a coherent pattern. The reader's faith in the biographer's sense of responsibility toward her subject is finally demolished by the discovery that while she gives general acknowledgment of her sources, numerous phrases, sentences, and pas-

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sages are lifted, almost verbatim and without acknowledgment, from Hanns Sachs's "Freud: Master and Friend" and other books.

An even more serious defect of this book, ironically enough, is its exclusive reliance on psychoanalysis to explain Freud to us. It proves inadequate for him, just as he found it to be for his patients, and future biographers of Freud may be well advised to remember his own statement: "Unfortunately, before the problem of the creative artist psychoanalysis must lay down its arms." At best, Mrs. Puner's description of Freud's relations to his parents and of his ambivalent attitude toward the fact of being Jewish explains the reactions of a particular character-type to particular situations. It does not explain Freud.

Yet it would be interesting to know more surely why, as Freud himself remarked, it was no accident that the founder of psychoanalysis was a Jew. This remark has usually been interpreted as a reference to the special mental and emotional habits developed as a result of persecution and social pressure. But these factors, whose importance is obvious, do not exhaust all there is to be said for the quality of the Jewish mind, and as an explanation they seem decidedly too simple and too negative.

A partial explanation, of a more positive kind, may lie in the character of Jewish theology and its influence, however remotely felt, even on the mind of a freethinker like Freud. The paucity of dogma in Judaism makes a striking contrast with orthodox Christianity, in which dogmas, at once abundant and contradictory, are buttressed simultaneously with elaborate rationalizations and appeals to punitive authority. Many of these dogmas are implicitly based on, and in turn enforce, a psychological dualism which in past periods was rarely attacked by rationalists and today pervades the thinking even of people who do not respond to any dogmatic religion at all. There is some illustration of this in the fact that "soul" and "spirit" are words which one can neither attach a satisfactory meaning to, differentiating them from mental processes—which are of the "body"—nor dispense with.

A person who has been brought up outside the climate where these dogmas and this dualism operate is, in considering the human personality, much less under the unconscious sway of the disjunction between "body" and "soul." And he is so far freer to see, as Freud did, the growth of moral as well as libidinous reality in "animalistic" phases of human development.

Whatever the value of such speculations in the case of this particular man, it is certainly true that a satisfactory biography will have to use other weapons in addition to those with which he himself has provided us, and give us not only more of Freud but more of Freud in the context of his culture and his times. One closes Mrs. Puner's book with a suspicion that it will give the most satisfaction to those who have a covert desire to see his formidable and disquieting figure cut down to a more comfortable size.

That figure looms up again, undiminished, in "Freud: On War, Sex, and Neurosis," a brilliant selection from the whole range of his thought. Most of these essays are not otherwise available in English; among them are two masterpieces which have the full impact of contemporaneity: Civilized Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness, and the most personal and touching of his writings, Thoughts for the Times on War and Death. MAURICE ENGLISH

Films and Music

COMPOSING FOR THE FILMS. By Hanns Eisler. Oxford University Press. $3.

THE flexible and practical kind of thinking at work in the first two chapters of Hanns Eisler's book, but unfortunately only in these chapters, seems to me the best way to do justice to a complicated and difficult art, and above all the best way to help the practicing composer in his work of the imagination. The first chapter makes a hard-hitting indictment of conventional film music for a lazy and uneconomical slavery to tired clichés—the leitmotiv, "illustrative" music (oboes for the country, xylophones for the city), and all the worn-out tricks that underline or undercut, reduplicate, and cheapen the points being made on the screen. Here Eisler focuses pretty sharply the vague objections we have all made to the treatment that Max Steiner, Alfred Newman, and the rest give our sensibilities. In the second chapter Eisler suggests that music play an active dramaturgical role in relationship to the screen, taking rich advantage of the difference between its own language and the language of the picture by simply letting the two say quite different things. Eisler suggests, in other words, a montage of music and motion pictures for purposes of dramatic irony and for clarification of point of view. The indictment is incisive because it attacks particular abuses, and the new suggestions stimulate the imagination because they prove themselves in examples from Eisler's own work, like this one:

Dans les Rues, 1933: The screen shows a bloody fight among young rowdies against the background of an early spring landscape. The music, in the form of variations, is tender, sad, rather remote; it expresses the contrast between the incident and the scene, wihout touching upon the action. Its lyrical character creates a distance from the savagery of the event: those who commit the brutalities are themselves victims.

This example, like the others, comes from a properly opportunistic imagination—opportunistic in the sense that it puts itself to work on quite standard materials modestly, unsystematically, and flexibly. It is through such concrete examples by practicing artists that new possibilities in any art are opened up.

After these excellent first chapters Eisler speaks no more as a practicing artist but as, alternately, an aesthetician and a sociologist. As an aesthetician he has something to sell, and the chapter called The New Musical Resources is a high-pressure salesman's argument. The product I take, somewhat tentatively, to be the expressionist style and structure of Schönberg and his school, for when Eisler talks about the style he wants film music to use, he seems, to me at least, to be describing the music of this particular school; I cannot see the principle under which he groups together as similar the music of Stravinsky, Hindemith, and Schönberg. The motion picture certainly needs what Eisler demands, a musical style capable of a wide range of expression in small structures that come to the point immediately, though why this should not include the repetitive tonal structures of

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traditional music along with others is not made clear. But it needs such a style because the conventional structure of the motion picture itself uses short episodes, usually in sharply contrasting tone and movement, *not* because "the modern motion picture, in its most consistent productions, aims at unmetaphysical contents that are beyond the range of stylization." This sentence is typical of Eisler's aesthetics and the opposite of practical, realistic, and imaginative. The only answer such a definition can give to an incontrovertible fact like the metaphorical richness in the films of Clair or Eisenstein or Chaplin is to say that these films are inconsistent with the nature of the medium, the answer of an inadequate and impoverished aesthetic.

The too few examples Eisler gives in an appendix make nonsense of his absolutism. The only quotation in score is a pleasant section of some music Eisler wrote for a film about rain; the mode is lyric and does not prove the more important dramatic powers of the new music, but it is interesting to observe that the film itself is a highly stylized portrait of its subject. Interesting in the same way is a description of music which Eisler wrote for a film called "Nature Scenes," for it is composed, curiously enough, of an invention, a chorale-prelude, a scherzo with trio, an etude, and a sonata finale. What Eisler the composer wants and takes is simply the freedom to use the exact style and structure demanded by the situation, and he needs no self-paralyzing aesthetic to defend it. It was good to emerge from the system into art's real world of examples.

Eisler is most exasperating as an amateur sociologist. In this role he writes an intolerably solemn and soporific Englished-German jargon, but the logic is the familiar absolutism. The composer is cautioned to be consistent with, this time, the sociological nature of his medium:

> He should not write a single sequence, not even a single note, that overlooks the social-technological prerequisite of the motion picture, namely, its nature as mass production. No motion-picture music should have the same character of uniqueness that is desirable in music intended for live performance. In other words, motion-picture music should not become the tool of pseudo-individualization.

Fortunately, the great film artists have defected from this high ideal. Only an amateur sociologist—I hope—would advise them to suit their art to their technology and thus, in the name of system, to serve their servant. Possibly it is the horror of Hollywood's entertainment industry that has driven Eisler to this sociological distraction. I would welcome in its place some of the old-fashioned and heart-warming spleen against the stupidity of producers.

ROBERT E. GARIS

The Great Delusion

ALSOS. By Samuel A. Goudsmit. Henry Schuman. $3.50.

THIS somewhat repetitious book is nevertheless fascinating. Dr. Goudsmit, the author, is a distinguished American physicist who was in charge of an Allied mission to investigate German activities in relation to atomic-bomb production. This "Alsos" mission —"Alsos" from the Greek meaning "groves," in honor of the general in charge of our atomic-bomb project—followed closely upon the Allied invasion of Germany.

The outcome of the "Alsos" investigations can be summarized in three statements: first, the Germans at the time of Hiroshima were no farther along than we were in 1940, when Fermi and others first began to experiment on a laboratory scale; second, the Germans to the very end were confident that the Allies would always lag behind them, for it was obvious, was it not, that if the Germans could not do it, certainly the Americans, English, and French would not succeed; third, it was the misfortune of German scientists, and our good fortune, that the Nazis had in reality little use for scientists—for the "theoretical" type particularly; and as events proved, the "theoretical" physicists were needed even more than the "practical" engineers.

It is true, Goudsmit points out, that the Germans lost many first-rate scientists by their persecution of "non-Aryans"; but even this attitude would not have been calamitous for them had not the Nazis been afflicted with a contempt for "non-Aryan" sciences, among which

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theoretical physics stood out prominently. Professors Müller and Stark wrote a book, "German and Jewish Physics," in which Einstein's theory of relativity was attacked as a peculiar emanation of a "non-Aryan" brain.

At the head of the Reich's Research Council were Rust and Mentzel, two drunken and ignorant Nazis; and prominent among the genuine scientists was Heisenberg, the leading atomic physicist in Germany, who nevertheless did little to oppose the Nazi henchmen. Richard Kuhn, the famous chemist in Heidelberg, was no better; he was constantly praised by the Nazis for his "Nazi outlook." Rust and Mentzel, like Hitler and Himmler, were far more interested in divining rods and the mysteries of the occult than in anything pertaining to modern science; and to the shame of German scientists, the Heisenbergs and the Kuhns did little by way of protest. Some of them not only did nothing but out-Himmlered Himmler. Lenard, the Heidelberg physicist, was one of these.

From a report which fell into the hands of the American mission—and the Germans were very methodical in recording everything, important and unimportant—we learn, for instance, that Himmler discovered that there was an old woman living in Jutland, Denmark, "who still possesses knowledge of the knitting methods of the Vikings"; whereupon someone was sent to Jutland to visit the old woman and learn her knitting methods. Himmler was learning these new knitting methods while the outworn democracies were giving the last touches to the atomic bomb.

Hitler and Himmler, as everybody knows, were also interested in certain types of "animal" experimentation, particularly those carried on at Dachau by a Dr. Rascher and his attractive wife, Nina Rascher. These experiments were largely engineered by university professors. At Strasbourg the professor of anatomy, Hirt, was the official representative of the S. S. He furnished his colleagues with "material"—concentration-camp victims. In November, 1943, Professor Haagan, a virus expert, wrote to Hirt: "Of the 100 prisoners you sent me, 18 died in transport. Only 12 are in a condition suitable for my experiments. I therefore request that you send me another 100 prisoners, between twenty and forty years of age, who are healthy and in a physical condition comparable to soldiers. Heil Hitler!"

But atomic research lagged. Goudsmit informs us that the Germans never succeeded in producing a chain reaction in a uranium pile, despite the fact that Otto Hahn, a German, discovered uranium fission. This was the great surprise awaiting the Americans, who could not at first believe that the Germans had failed so miserably in precisely the field where the Allies were so successful. When, finally, Heisenberg and the rest were bundled off to prison —some of them to a prison appropriately called "dustbin"—and the noise of Hiroshima reverberated until the Germans heard of it, their first reaction was typical: it couldn't be; it was just cheap Allied propaganda. When there could no longer be any doubt, their second reaction was again typical: What inhuman monsters these Allies were! We Germans would never have used our discoveries for making an atomic bomb; we were interested in discovering new, useful, peaceful sources of energy.

Goudsmit's work is important for the scientific information it contains; it is even more important for the insight it gives us into the German mentality.

BENJAMIN HARROW

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Gifford Pinchot

BREAKING NEW GROUND. By Gifford Pinchot. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

IN THIS readable autobiography Gifford Pinchot covers his education and public life from 1885 to 1910, with one significant exception. After telling about the North American Conservation Conference of 1909 he deliberately breaks his own time limit. For six pages he relates his efforts, from 1909 to 1945, to arrange with Presidents to call a World Conservation Conference. Though he died short of success, such a meeting is on the United Nations agenda for 1948.

The exception is proper, for conservation is the theme of Pinchot's autobiography. His final chapter, What It All Means, sums up the creed of conservation and shows its all-embracing implications as a philosophy of life and statesmanship.

Pinchot's volume is the work of a man with a lucid, sensitive mind, an unchanging devotion to the public good —and bulging files of source material. He is honest and personal, unafraid either to confess his own errors or to quote letters and clippings that praise his work. He writes idiomatic plain talk and shows a shrewd sense of human nature. Knowing how misleading documentary history can be, he proposes here to write history "from personal recollection, fortified by documents." His book makes rich reading for the literate bureaucrat politician, historian, forester, and liberal.

Part of the book tells the story of how private owners and the government moved toward the protection of forests. Guiding the way was Pinchot, the first professional forester in America. He had to counteract the mistakes of the lumberman and of the forest lover, who tried to stop the ax instead of directing it, and show both that "forestry is tree farming. It is handling trees so that one crop follows another."

Pinchot gives the inside story of the memorable act of 1891 which created the first forest reserves, the fight in 1897 over Cleveland's reserves, and the great constructive work that began in 1898 when he became head of federal work in forestry. He details his long struggle to have the forest reserves transferred to him from the General Land Office in the Department of the Interior. Corruption flourished under Land Commissioner Binger Hermann, who was " 'practical' in the worst sense of the word, with an eye single to the main chance and a deep-rooted conviction that public office is a private snap."

The tension of the book rises when Pinchot comes to deal with the period following the departure of Roosevelt from the White House. Progressives become increasingly disillusioned with Taft. Though he stood pledged to carry out T. R.'s conservation program, they saw that he would probably carry it out on a shutter. He took a narrow legalistic view of Presidential powers and "lacked the fighting edge."

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The over-all issue, Taft versus Ted, came to a head in the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, which forms the climax of "Breaking New Ground." Richard Ballinger, formerly of the Land Office and now Secretary of the Interior, was a "wolf guarding sheep." Among other things he did all he could to help his Seattle friends gain title to certain forested coal lands in Alaska. In circumstantial detail Pinchot tells how he tried to warn Taft of trouble ahead and stop Ballinger. Here again are Glavis's data on the fraudulent coal claims, together with the Lawler memorandum, Taft's letter whitewashing Ballinger, the misdated report from the Attorney General to the President, the "Dolliver letter," in which Pinchot, a minor official, openly criticized the President, and the exciting sessions of the Joint Committee of Congress, at which Louis Brandeis, lawyer for the progressive side, ferreted out the secrets of an obstructionist Administration.

In his narration and interpretation of the sensational Ballinger case Pinchot rebuts Henry Pringle's "Life and Times of William Howard Taft" and Harold Ickes's "essay of confession and penance" in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1940. Pinchot's version supplements Alpheus Mason's "Bureaucracy Convicts Itself" and "Brandeis."

"I was more than fortunate in my friends," says Pinchot, and throughout the book he pays compliments to associates who aided him or whom he assisted. The hero of the book is not Pinchot but Theodore Roosevelt, whom we see intimately, at work and play. Pinchot recalls with gusto the great days of committees and commissions on public lands, organization of government scientific work, inland waterways, country life, departmental methods, conservation, and the notable conference of governors. A whole chapter, which is eloquent and specific, itemizes T. R.'s service to America.

"Breaking New Ground" is the true story of a distinguished statesman who had a vision of democracy and a knack for taking practical steps. It is the success story of a rich man who became a fighting liberal, who brought forestry to America, helped forestry give birth to conservation, and worked to make conservation save the world.

RICHARD G. LILLARD

Mixed Freight

THE STORY OF AMERICAN RAILROADS. By Stewart H. Holbrook. Crown Publishers. $4.50.

THIS mile-long mixed freight of a book should appeal to millions, mostly male, who like Mr. Holbrook are unfailingly stirred by the sight of the Twentieth Century Limited pounding up the Hudson Valley or by the sound of a locomotive bell clanging far off in the night. Here is railroad history from every angle: tales of the building of a score of famous roads; sagas of such forgotten pioneers as John Poor, who surveyed the route from Portland to Montreal and raced through the north woods in midwinter to defeat his Boston rivals; reports of bloody battles between railroad management and workers, between railroads and farmers, and between railroad builders competing for the same route. Here is a mass of information and anecdote about locomotive engineers, conductors, Pullman porters, news butchers, hoboes, train robbers, and other railroad types. Finally, here is an appreciation of the major role of steam locomotion in binding together these United States. It is a rich and satisfying meal, and Mr. Holbrook cooks and serves it with unflagging gusto.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

APOLLINAIRE'S true progeny in the arts were not the cubists but those more ebullient and literary artists who sprang up in cubism's wake and came to notice along with Dada or surrealism in the years shortly after the 1914-18 war. Chief among them were Arp, Brancusi, Klee, Kurt Schwitters, Gonzales, Miró, Alberto Giacometti. The last-named was for a while one of the most important inventors in twentieth-century art, a sculptor whose ideas have begun lately to find a precipitation—though a somewhat false one—even in painting (see Matta).

Giacometti started from cubism and in his best work never altogether left it. Without cubism he would have lacked, I think, the impulse that made him break with monolithic sculpture as radically as he did. And he translated cubism into sculpture more integrally, if not so literally, than did any other sculptor of his time—not excepting Lipchitz, Laurens, or Zadkine. It is the spirit of cubism rather than its letter that forced Giacometti to become such an inventor, introducing him to the conception of sculpture as something linear, free from mass, transparent, inclosing space and emptying instead of filling it. This, and not cubes, is what cubism means when integrally translated into sculpture—as the constructivists, too, can testify.

The surrealists attribute the effect of Giacometti's art to its literary dynamics: the unexpected juxtaposition of the suggestions given off by its shapes. But this unexpectedness was only the means by which the artist incited himself to work. The ultimate motives and factors lay beyond, in the play against each other of the curve and the straight line—as in the best canvases of Picasso, Braque, Gris, and Léger; in the frontal approach that demanded only a single viewpoint on the part of the spectator; and in the transposition of all sculptural

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problems into the pictorial terms of line and flat plane. The freely created, arbitrary object, of which surrealism made so much, is only a by-product of these factors, not their end. What deceived the surrealists was the fact that these works of sculpture were no longer *statues*.

Giacometti's feeling for form has never been sure, and the best of his sculpture is not so clean in style as the best cubist painting; but at the same time it is less academic, because it is not haunted by all that the past has done with paint and canvas, and is able therefore to adumbrate things more intensely new. Thus while he is not quite a major artist, Giacometti has become almost the main wellspring of contemporary advanced sculpture, at least in this country. David Smith, David Hare, Calder, Theodore Roszak, and others would not be possible without him.

Giacometti's plaster and bronze compositions of his best period, between 1925 and 1934, are in almost every case successful. It is *style* that makes such consistency possible, a style borne up by the presence around him of great contemporaries, and also by the faith in the future that he shared with most of them. His projects for public places and tunnels, his cages and strangled women, his figures and heads, aim ultimately at a reconstitution of the world on a more sincere basis. It is only here that the surrealists are right about Giacometti. His fitting together of tube and block, bar and rod, in new ways, his scratched plaster tablets and geometrical landscapes aim at a new sincerity that will no longer conceal what is, humanly speaking, the arbitrary absurdity of the present world.

In the meantime Giacometti has lost his sincerity and optimism. His present full-scale show at Pierre Matisse's (through February 14), which includes very late as well as early work, makes this clear. The tall, elongated, withered figures in bronze and plaster that are his latest productions—most of them dating from 1947—mark a drastic change of direction and style and at the same time, alas, a sad falling off from his previous standard. They constitute nothing more or less than a retreat to the statue, to the monolith. These unwrapped mummies are the same kind of expressionist archaeology that other contemporary Italian artists—including Chirico—have resorted to in the effort to stay "modern." Gone is the bold, rough geometry that gave Giacometti's former flights of imagination their motive power; gone the audacious inventiveness that shocked the spectator's vision only to stabilize it on a higher and securer level. True, these later things are striking in a way—especially the bronze "Tall Figure, Half-Size"—but their effect verges on the sentimental, however grimly disguised that sentimentality is, and their conception remains in the end perfunctory.

Let no one think that the prominence of the human figure in Giacometti's latest work means a return to "humanism." Today "humanism" in art means the very opposite—pessimism about man's powers, a fear of facing any reality without precedent. Giacometti's earlier, more abstract work, which showed as little concern for the shape of the human figure as it did for that of a car barn, expressed a far more genuine humanism, a humanism that took into itself the whole realm of sight and touch.

KURT SCHWITTERS, the German collagist, sculptor, architect, and writer (the news of his death at sixty-one in Westmoreland, England, on January 8 has just reached us), belonged to the same artistic generation as Giacometti; and his debt to cubism is much more obvious. Schwitters was one of those artists who, because they go very far ahead in a narrow direction, tend to be overlooked for a time. It is to be hoped that his first one-man show in this country, at the Pinacotheca (through February 28), will remedy the neglect he seems to have suffered these past twenty years and more.

Of his twenty-six collages shown at the Pinacotheca eleven date from between 1920 and 1928, one from 1946, and the rest from 1947. What is equivocal about Schwitters, as about his fellow-ex-Dadaist, Hans Arp, is the single-mindedness with which, all outer appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, he has striven for a strict internal aesthetic logic. It is not what one would expect from an artist who received his first fruitful impulse from a movement hostile to all kinds of logic, artistic and otherwise. However, the fact is that Schwitters was already a disciple of cubism in 1918 and that he never shared the anti-art position of the majority of Dada. Instead of going over to surrealism, as did so many other ex-Dadaists, he aligned himself subsequently with Mondrian, Van Doesberg, Gabo, and Lissitsky, and in the 1930's joined the Abstract Creation group.

On the evidence of the present show it is Schwitters's earlier works, those executed under the more immediate influence of classical cubism, that excel by far. As in Giacometti's case, his most recent work shows a great decline, if not a radical change of direction. Though the shapes employed are still more or less rectangular, the composition is no longer built almost exclusively of rectangles on horizontal bases, and the effort toward greater variety of texture and color grain results in discordances. Though the materials of the earlier collages are as heterogeneous as those of the later ones—torn tickets, shreds of cigarette packages, odd bits of cardboard and cloth, and so forth—they assert a superior unity and compactness of surface, texture, and design.

Schwitters's signal contribution was

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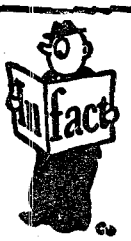

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his introduction of bright colors in a medium that when originally developed by the classical cubists was confined to a spectrum of black, white, gray, brown, and dull yellow. Despite their variegated color it is by reason of their purity of style, achieved under difficulties more self-imposed than those the original cubists faced when working in this medium, that Schwitters's little collages take their place among the heroic feats of twentieth-century art. Schwitters also experimented with collage constructions composed of odd pieces of wood, plaster, metal, and glass set inside a deep frame. One successful example of this genre, from 1923, demonstrates, as do Arp's bas-reliefs, how contemporary advanced sculpture was able, via the collage, to attach itself to painting and take its point of departure from that medium rather than from anything antecedent in its own medium. Without this bridge from painting to sculpture provided by the collage and its derivative bas-relief, Giacometti, for instance, would have been unable to embark on his revolutionary path.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

LISTENED to by itself the performance of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony that Szell has recorded for Columbia with the Cleveland Orchestra (Set 705, $5.85) is good, even with a first movement that seems rushed after the pace of the slow introduction, and even with some woodwinds that sound mediocre. Consequential inadequacies become evident, however, when one listens to Toscanini's recorded performance with the B. B. C. Symphony and hears, for example, in the opening statement of the introduction (or the opening statement of the second movement) the continuity in contour and impetus that is lacking in Szell's treatment. And the difference is emphasized by the resonant liveness and luster of the recorded sound of Toscanini's performance, as against the unresonant dryness and drabness of the sound of Szeli's, which is otherwise not bad with the Brush pickup but is unpleasantly sharp with the Astatic QT-J.

The same must be said of the performance of Weber's Overture to "Der Freischütz" that Ormandy has recorded for Columbia with the Philadelphia Orchestra (12665-D, $1.25), as compared with Toscanini's with the N. B. C. Symphony. Its recorded sound, too, lacks the resonant liveness and luster of Toscanini's; but it is better than Szell's. The surfaces of my copy are gritty exceptions to Columbia's normally quiet surfaces.

Well recorded—though again without the warmth and luster it should have—is Ormandy's performance with the Philadelphia Orchestra of Respighi's "Roman Festivals" (Set 707, $4.60), a much poorer work than his "Fountains" and "Pines." But the unresonant dryness and the unpleasant sharpness with the Astatic QT are to be heard again in the sound of their performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony (Set X-287, $3.25), which is a little overdeliberate at times, and too much so at the end of the third movement, but otherwise fairly good. And again in the sound of Morton Gould's performance with the Philadelphia Robin Hood Dell Orchestra of his "Interplay" for piano and orchestra (Set X-289, $3.35), originally the "American Concertette," and under either title an example of the Gould method of excessive cleverness that I don't enjoy.

That kind of cleverness applied to folk-type material of the Mediterranean area is to be heard in Ibert's "Escales" ("Ports of Call"), which the San Francisco Symphony performs under Monteux with the necessary brilliance that is superbly reproduced by RCA Victor's recording (Set DV-10 on vinylite, $5.25; Set DM-1173 on shellac, which I haven't heard, $3.15).

Real and fascinating originality of mind and idiom is to be heard in Berlioz's Overture "Le Corsaire," which is beautifully played by Beecham's new Royal Philharmonic and excellently recorded, except for the usual over-weight of bass (11-9955, $1.05). On another single (11-9951, $1.05) is a good performance of Weber's Overture to "Oberon" by Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony (but the first note of the horn is a little tremulous, and later there is a bad attack by the trumpet), which is well recorded. And excellent playing by the same orchestra under the same conductor and first-rate recording are wasted on Hanson's Symphony No. 3 (Set DM-1170, $5.25).

Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto, one of his fine works, is performed superbly by Erika Morini with the Chicago Symphony under Defauw (Set DM-1168, $5.25). The over-all recorded sound is rich, with good balance of violin and orchestra; only an occasional woodwind detail is not clearly heard.

RCA Victor M sets (non-automatic) now cost $1.05 more than the DM.

Vox has recorded a performance of Bach's "Brandenburg" Concerto No. 4 by Klemperer with the so-called Pro-Musica Orchestra (Set 621, $5.25 on vinylite). The work is engaging; the performance is good in its four-square

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way, and is reproduced with present-day richness, liveness, and clarity (one hears the sound of the re-recording). But the old Busch Chamber Players performance—with its lightness and grace, its sensitive and elastic inflection of texture, its refinement and clarity of recorded sound—remains superior.

Vox also has issued the pre-war Polydor recording of the performance of Stravinsky's Violin Concerto by Samuel Dushkin with the Lamoureux Orchestra under Stravinsky (Set 173, $4.20). The work's wryly parodistic classical references include an aria in an amusing exaggeration of grandly florid style; but there is a good deal that is unattractively ugly. The performance is good and is reproduced with adequate clarity.

On February 9, at City Center, Ballet Society will offer an opportunity to see again two beautiful works that Balanchine produced for it last year: "The Four Temperaments," one of the greatest things he has done, and "Divertimento," smaller in scale and less complex, but no less excitingly original and inventive. And there will be a new work—his "Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne," to music by Rieti.

CONTRIBUTORS

PERRY MILLER, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, is the author of "The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century."

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

RICHARD G. LILLARD is the author of "The Great Forest," recently published.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

An Old Story

Dear Sirs: This evening I began reading "The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation." The Venerable Bede, writing in the first half of the eighth century about the aftermath of one of the many wars with the Picts in the fifth century, had this to say: "When, however, the ravages of the enemy at length ceased, the island began to abound with such plenty of grain as had never been known in any age before; with plenty, luxury increased, and this was immediately attended with all sorts of crimes; in particular, cruelty, hatred of truth, and love of falsehood; insomuch that if any one among them happened to be inclined to truth, all the rest abhorred and persecuted him, as if he had been the enemy of his country."

C. M. HUGHES

Lansdale, Pa., January 19

On the Spot

Dear Sirs: While reading your recent series of articles by Paul Blanshard, I was reminded of an incident that took place while I was a student at Notre Dame.

Several of us started arguing about an article which appeared in *Time*. (*Time, Life,* and *Fortune* were banned from the campus and not sold in any of the university stores. Students purchased their copies in South Bend.) The article concerned Dr. Norbett G. Talbott, pastor of the Methodist Church at Huntingburg, Indiana, who was attending a naval training school for chaplains, and was asked how he would react in certain routine situations. For instance, suppose he were directed to deliver a talk on prophylactics prior to the men's shore leave after several months at sea. Dr. Talbott felt he could not comply with such orders, and the survey board suggested he return to his parish.

Several of the Notre Dame boys claimed that a Catholic chaplain would deliver the lecture in the given circumstances; others said, "Never!" The argument turned into a bet, and the disputants requested that two observers, of whom I was one, present the case to six priests on the campus. To our amazement, while four priests said a Catholic would *never* lecture on prophylactics, two said that, in a situation such as had been suggested to Dr. Talbott, a Catholic chaplain would. Each was resolute and determined in his statements, and Father McGinn, a famous philosophy professor and one of the campus favorites, said that he had given at least a dozen such talks to men in France in World War I.

When we reported the results of our inquiries to our Catholic friends they were confused, and wondered if those Catholic chaplains who lectured on prophylactics in order to keep servicemen healthy were really committing sin.

WARREN GLAUBER

New York, January 20

What Goes on Here?

Dear Sirs: When the huge new Ford plant just outside Atlanta was dedicated on December 10, a Methodist preacher stole the show, a fact which was not reported in press accounts of the affair. The assembled throng included Henry and Benson Ford and most of the big brass of the Ford organization, as well as Governor Thompson, Ex-Governor Arnall, Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, and top-flight business leaders of the area. Startled looks were exchanged after hearing the invocation delivered by the Reverend Warren Candler Budd, minister of the Hapeville Methodist Church, Atlanta, the suburb where the plant is located.

Here is the prayer that brought the startled looks, and the stony silence in the press:

O God, Thou art Thyself the great Creator, the Master Workman. Thou hast revealed Thyself to us in Jesus the carpenter, whose roughened hands bear eternal testimony to the dignity of toil.

We sense Thy presence in the upward surge of the masses, who with the awakened self-respect of children of God have through the centuries cast off the shackles of slavery and serfdom and stand now gazing toward the dawn of a greater freedom.

We praise Thee for those brave spirits who have led the way, who have dared to risk even their children's bread in organized endeavor to improve the lot of all, who for their unselfish devotion have been condemned as outcasts of society, endured prison, sacrificed their lives as martyrs to the cause.

Help Thou the labor movement of our day to be worthy of its heritage. Unite in high purpose the workers in the factory

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and the farm. Preserve them from the temptation to selfish complacency. Guard their leaders from the lust for personal power. Guide them in the service of the common good.

Help the workers of all lands to stand shoulder to shoulder for justice and peace among the nations. Save them from the sin of selfish nationalism. Give them a wider vision of world government with justice and liberty for all.

Grant to labor the wisdom to seek a world of peace and plenty by means of organization and the ballot, keeping their movement free from hate and violence, building into the cooperative commonwealth those spiritual values which alone can make it endure.

Bring at last all workers by hand or brain into worldwide brotherhood, into closer fellowship with Thee, O God, the Father of us all. Amen.

The South is coming along, suh!

FRANK MC CALLISTER, Director,
Georgia Workers' Education Service
Atlanta, January 19

The Whole Truth

Dear Sirs: The week of February 8-15 will be celebrated as Negro History Week. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History has chosen the following theme for the celebration: "The Whole Truth and Nothing but the Whole Truth."

The newspaper does not tell the whole truth when it publishes far and wide the evil which one has done and carefully avoids saying anything about the good he has accomplished. The family records which include the background and present position of the few above want and say nothing about the honest hardworking people of the same community who have made the fortunate few possible do not tell the whole truth. The plantation accounts which note only the increase in production from year to year and the prestige which such prosperity brings to the owner and fail to mention the hundreds by whose labor such status has been attained do not tell the whole truth. The glowing accounts of the captains of industry who have made the United States the richest nation on the earth do not tell the whole truth when they fail to say a word about those pioneer workers who tunneled the mountains, bridged the valleys, constructed the railroads, built the towns, and transported the products of the farm, the factory, and the mine to the markets of the world. These neglected men and their wives and children are the heroes and heroines of America. The history of the Western Hemisphere will never be written until their story is given its proper place in the narrative and critical history of the continent. History is the whole truth. The half-truth is falsehood.

No individual, no family, no race, no section, no nation has any monopoly of virtue and achievement. All in their own way have made some contribution to the progress of mankind. We make a mistake when we treat as distinguished only those who with brute force have brought the forces of progress under their control and have used them for selfish purposes. They are not the makers of history except so far as their evil deeds bring into action the reformer who, thinking that it is no longer better to bear the ills he has than fly to those he knows not of, launches a movement for an equitable distribution of the benefits of modern civilization.

C. G. WOODSON, Director,
Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History
Washington, January 18

A Civilian Discrimination

Dear Sirs: The editorial paragraph in your issue of December 17 regarding the proposed amendment to the Immigration Act of 1924 contains an inaccuracy which I would like, in all fairness to Congress, to draw to your attention.

Women in the armed forces received the same courtesy as the men through passage of the statute on December 28, 1945, which permitted admission of alien spouses and minor children of members of the armed forces. But the overseas woman civilian worker, whether Red Cross, UNRRA, voluntary agency staff member, or government employee, does not share this privilege and will not until Congress passes H. R. 2765, now pending before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House Committee on the Judiciary. Nor will recently married United States civilian women share the privilege possessed by all other citizens, men and women, civilian and military, until the limiting date on H. R. 2765 is advanced or eliminated. BARBARA M. RIKER
Broadalbin, N. Y., January 16

A Helping Hand

Dear Sirs: We are working for interracial justice, in Harlem and as far as our voice can reach, by means of our monthly paper. Our workers receive no salary. We distribute clothing to those who need it, give food in emergencies, act as a reference agency, conduct children's groups, and offer a weekly educational lecture for both white and colored friends. We also have a small library at 171 Thompson Street, in Greenwich Village, where lectures are given on Friday evenings. Our main offices are at 34 West 135th Street, New York, and your readers are invited to drop in to get help or to give it. MABEL C. KNIGHT,
Local Director, Friendship House
New York, January 17

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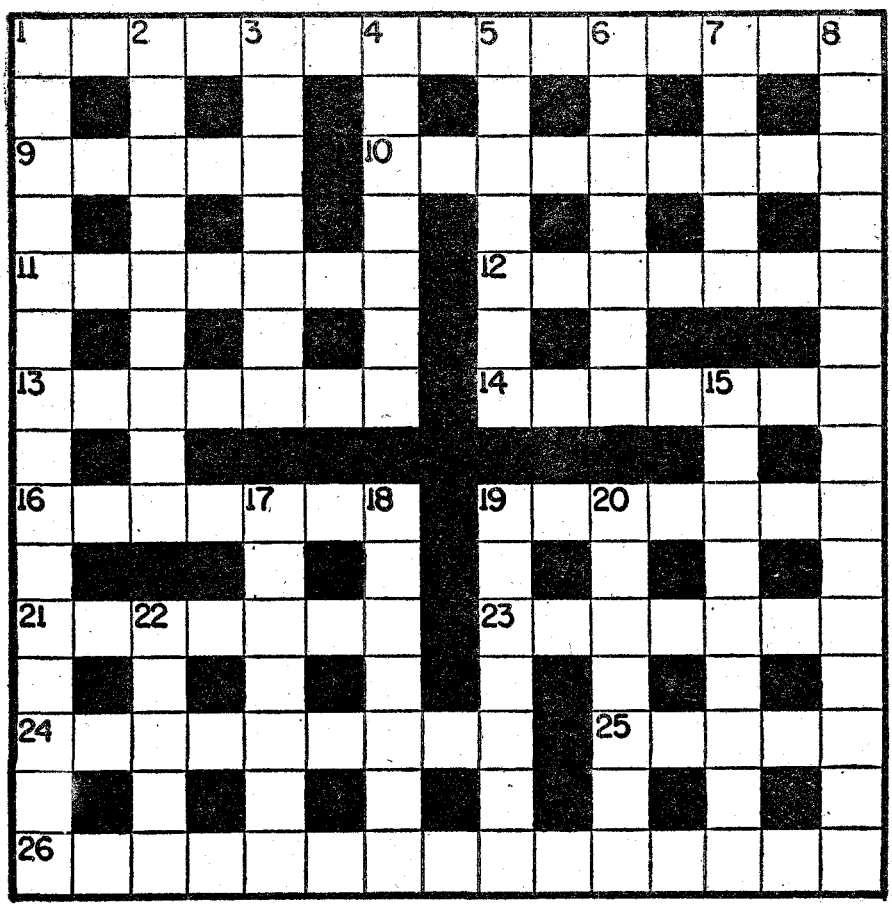
Crossword Puzzle No. 249

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Post time? (8, 7)
9 These are seen in a tour, also. (5)
10 Communist movement? (9)
11 Kind of crane. (7)
12 Wear around the state of atmospheric conditions. (7)
13 Mangles. (7)
14 Descriptive of a soldier's career. (7)
16 Reputedly the author of "Include me out!" (7)
19 Overhead in Paris. (7)
21 A kind of hare always to allow around. (7)
23 They speak pure Italian. (7)
24 Are its counters rarely filled? (5, 4)
25 When light, it doesn't stop you. (5)
26 What class is like a cliche for clean speed? (5, 2, 1, 7)

DOWN

1 These imply a trip might be taken. (9, 6)
2 The dormouse used it in inventing the umbrella. (9)
3 Change for tea after a nap. (7)
4 Wears a beard as a change. (7)
5 Stop nothing to get married when it's given. (7)
6 What casters do for a spell. (7)
7 The "Fighting" are anything but! (5)
8 Not a private trouble. (7, 8)
15 The spy is not captured. (4, 5)
17 Indian's scalp-lock? (7)
18 Let out after dinner. (7)
19 Tom's father? (7)
20 A gas is a queer weapon for a Zulu. (7)
22 Drive the stage to carry his output. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 248

ACROSS:—1 CHANCEL; 5 INFECTS; 9 ADHERES; 10 CORDIAL; 11 FAIRY GODMOTHERS; 12 DEMANDS; 13 SPIRAEA; 14 ADDICTS; 17 AMULETS; 20 COMPANY DIRECTOR; 21 SPANGLE; 22 ALABAMA; 23 DESISTS; 24 ESTATES.

DOWN:—1 CHAFFED; 2 ATHEISM; 3 CARRYING CHARGES; 4 LESSONS; 5 INCOMES; 6 FIRST LIEUTENANT; 7 CHIMERA; 8 SILESIA; 14 ACCUSED; 15 DEMEANS; 16 SHYNESS; 17 AGITATE; 18 EXTRACT; 19 STREAMS.

Misplaced Blame

Dear Sirs: I was happy to see some public credit given the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization in the article, The Anderson Plan, by Henry H. Collins, Jr., in your issue of December 20, but distressed to find so much misunderstanding of the history of our government's relations with that organization.

Mr. Collins wrote: "The Department of Agriculture could have instructed the American delegate at Geneva last summer to give real backing to the just-established World Food Council. Instead, we meekly trailed the British, who, although the F. A. O. is headed by that redoubtable Scotsman, Sir John Boyd Orr, did their best to keep the organization weak."

The facts could not be more misconstrued, nor the blame placed with greater error. First, the Department of State and not the Department of Agriculture directs the government's policy toward the F. A. O. Second, the United States, instead of "meekly" trailing the British, was solely responsible in the first place for the abandonment of the World Food Board, Sir John's proposal for a bona fide international food agency, and adoption of the absurd and powerless World Food Council—a joke, albeit a grisly one, among the real friends of Sir John and the F. A. O. The United States championed Sir John's World Food Board with warmth and success at the Copenhagen conference of September, 1946. Six weeks later, at a meeting in Washington, it did a complete about-face. Third, the present World Food Council is hardly worth the concern Mr. Collins shows for it. Either it must be substantially strengthened along the lines Sir John favors—the British, not the Americans, have proposed some changes in that direction—or it is nothing but a pitiable advisory agency. Only the old World Food Board is worth fighting for now.

WALTER H. WAGGONER

Boston, January 14

A Life of Mother Jones

Dear Sirs: I am collecting material for a life of Mother Jones, and would like to correspond with anyone who has known her or who may possess letters from her. My address is 47-06 Forty-sixth Street, Woodside.

ISABELLA BAILIN

Woodside, N. Y., January 16

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